

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
*LIFE and ACTIONS*  
of that Great Captain of  
his Age the Viscount de  
*TURENE.*

Written in French by *Monsieur du*  
*Buiffon*, Eldest Captain & Major  
of the Regiment de *Verdelin*.

And Translated into English  
By *Ferrand Spence.* *b*

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*Roger L'Estrange.*

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REIGN OF  
HIS GRACE CHRISTOPHER DUKES  
OF ALBEMARLE, EARL OF YORK  
AND BATH, &c.  
IN THE  
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY  
OF THE REIGN OF  
CHARLES THE FIRST  
BY  
HONORABLE JOHN CANNON



To His Grace Christopher Duke  
of Albemarle, Earl of Torrington,  
Baron Monck of Potheridge,  
Beauchamp, & Teyes,  
Knight of the most Noble Order  
of the Garter, and One of  
the Lords of his Majesties most  
Honourable Privy-Council.

My LORD,

IT is not long since, that History  
seem'd a Province so peculiar to the  
Greeks and Romans, that the Actions  
of any other Part of this Globe, were  
look'd upon as unworthy the Recording;  
as if Homer and Plutarch's Heroes  
were only fit to be produc'd, and that  
it were not only Barbarous, but Impious  
to offer at measuring them with the Mo-  
derns. But we are, at length, made  
sensible, that all Regions and Ages af-  
ford Valour, Ability, and Politeness.  
We are grown weary of talking ever

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

of Alexander and Caesar, and, I say, discover New Conquerors as much to be Valued, and possibly to all intents their Equals.

In this File we may place the late Monsieur de Turenne, whose Life I do not a little glory in the Occasion of laying at Your Graces feet. A more than ordinary Analogy of Circumstances Authorizes this Dedication. The Viscount's Partizans boast him to have Barrier'd France more than once, from Inundations of his formidable, as well as Numerous Enemies. Your Grace's Illustrious Father may well be stild the Restorer of England, in bringing back the Defender of its Faith, and re-establishing him upon the Throne of his Ancestors; and this is what does, unquestionably, give him the Preheminence o'er that so very Eminent French Captain. But as the Glory of this Personages Life, rather requires my Shadowing the Piece, I may well be tax'd with a Design of lessning his

## The Epistle Dedicatory

beginning by producing him into a greater  
Light. For that the Viscount had the  
Superiority of Conduct vnder all of the  
other Generall of his time, yet was  
unknowing that all his consultations, Pro-  
ceeds and Experience in the business of  
War were all a fore from Misconception  
and Misapprehension, that the Lord General of  
England, thus fully Disadvantaged and  
Disarmed, gloriously and unarm'dly  
carried the Honour of that Character  
to the last.

Wherefore Sir, a Passion for the Credit of  
my Subject, withholds my hand from push-  
ing on the Parallel. Nevertheless I have  
urg'd sufficient to Entitle this Piece fit to  
challenge your Princely Patronage. Be-  
sides as your own Constant Magnificence  
and Magnanimity, on all Occasions in the  
Service of the Crown, Vigilance, Bravery  
and Successfull Conduct speak you in every  
thing the Heir of your Fathers Virtues, so  
do they render so great an affinity between  
Yours and the Viscounts Life, that tho-

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

the Laters long Experience may Weigh down, a little, on the one hand; your unspotted Loyalty does again, more than Ballance it on the other, and stamps Merit on this Oblation and renders it a Duty.

And here My Lord, I might value my self upon resisting the Temptation of improving the Pompous matter I have before me into a Panegyrique. A thing, indeed, unnecessary, since the World is satisfy'd your Grace has with Devotion made Your Fathers Great Actions the Model of Your Own, which is sufficient to Chronicle you to all Eternity in the first Rank of the Illustrious Men and Princes of this Age and Nation, and to make me proud of the passion I had to Subscribe my self,

May it please your Grace,

Your most Obedient and most

Humble Servant,

F. SPENCE.

*The LIFE of the Viscount of  
Turenne, Marechal General  
of the Kings Camps and Arms,  
Colonell General of the Light  
Horse of France, and Gover-  
nor of High and Low Limosin.*

**I**F Men Writ only for their Contemporaries, very Cautious shou'd I be of undertaking here the Relation of the *Viscount de Turenne's* Life, seeing all I can say of him will in no wise come near the *Idea* left Us of him, in his Great Actions: In effect when I shall have urg'd many instances of his Goodness, Wisdom, Justice, Prudence, Courage, and all the Other Virtues he in a Sovereign Degree possess'd, have I not reason to fear that this will rather Weaken than augment the Opinion we have of Him? For tho' a Book may seem sufficient to acquaint us with the Vices and Virtues of a Man, yet We have seen such Great things of this Prince both for Manners, and for Actions, as require a man's having been an Eye-Witness of 'em, to have an Idea of him proportionable to the Truth. But as we willingly admit the Pleasure of hearing such Persons as have been Dear to Us made the Subject of the Discourse, I hope this Work far from Displeasing, will be acceptable to all such as shall peruse it; Very willing will they be to be re-minded of a Prince, for whom they had, as I may say, a kind of Adoration; and

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whose

whose Death they could not refrain Solemnizing with their tears, tho' attended with such Glorious Circumstances. As for those that come after us, I also hope this Piece will afford them a Delightfull Entertainment ; For if they are pleas'd in Reading the History of *Alexander the Great*, and Other the famous Captains of Antiquity, whose Virtues were tarnish'd with many Vices ; with much more Reason must they needs take some satisfaction in Reading the Life of a Prince, who having been no less Wise or Expert than those Great men in the Trade of War, was Exempt from all their Imperfections. But besides, I hope, something more will be found than Pleasure in the Life of so virtuous a Personage ; and that it will raise both Admiration and Emulation : And if it be true, that manners are commonly fashion'd after the example of the Company People usually frequent, may we not believe that Reading another sort of conversation, is capable of producing the same effect. I will add to all these Considerations that have enduc'd me to enter upon this work ; the Desire I had to hand down truth to Posterity, a Virtue not much known to the greater part of our modern Historians, who suffer themselves to be led on by their Interest or their Passions.

All mankind are Unanimous in This, that Greatness of Birth is a Present of Fortune ; nay I have not yet met with any Person, but reckons it to give a Great Lustre to virtue. We value indeed Virtuous Persons in whatever Rank it has pleas'd God to place them, but 'tis Clear we rate those much higher that are equally Virtuous, & born with the Advantage of Extraction : 'Tis a lustre that dazzels all men, and for which, let People talk what they will, Every man has Naturally a respect. *Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne*, whose Life I now undertake to Write, was born at  
Sedan

*Sedan* the 11th of *September*, 1611. of Parents whose Birth was not only Eminent, but ev'n recommendable among Sovereigns. He was the Son of *Henry de la Tour D'Auvergne* and of *Elizabeth of Nassaw*: These two Houses are so blaz'd throughout *Europe*, nay, and i'th Other Parts of the World, that it wou'd be needless in me to Enlarge much upon their Grandeur. That of *Nassaw* has giv'n an Emperour to *Germany*, and continu'd his Posterity in Severall Branches equally Illustrious, and particularly in that of the Princes of *Orange*. That of *La Tour D'Auvergne* has possesse the County of *Boulogne* and severall other Lands in Sovereignty; and for a top of Greatness matcht one of it's Daughters to a Majesty of *France*. Not but there are those who are of Opinion that this Ancient House of *Boulogne*, and that of *Bouillon*, are very Different; Nay, and I have heard it affirm'd by the present Duke of *Elbœuf*, tho' he had marry'd a Daughter of this Family, and that his Interest led him to take that Part: But it is not for me to decide these sorts of things, and tho' I were better informed than I am, I should circumscribe my relation to what is commonly said upon this Point. I shall leave then to others to judge of the Case as they think fit, and content my self to say, that it is however a most Illustrious House; Consider we it either as issu'd from the Counts of *Boulogne*, or from a House of *Limosin*, from whence some derive it's Original: Such as are of this sentiment, affirm it's Name to be *La Tour*, of which there are many Gentlemen settled in the Kingdom, and that they have thereto added the name *D'Auvergne*. *Mrs de Gou- vernet, de Montauban & de la Chartre* are of that House, and some of 'em have told me the House of *Bouillon* and theirs to be one and the same thing. But one would willingly have more than bare words for it, for no doubt but they would be very glad to be look'd on



as Relations of *Monsieur de Bouillon*, who hold't not only an Eminent rank in *France*, but are likewise very considerable in *Germany*, on the score of the Alliances they have there with several Princes. As for the rest, the Principality of *Sedan* had not been long in this House, when the *Viscount de Turenne* came into the World: His Father was oblig'd for it to *Henry the 4<sup>th</sup>*. Who had match'd him to the Heirefs. But we may assure it to be in acknowledgement for the Services he had receiv'd from him. For during the Civil Wars of *France*, he brought him sundry Succours from *Germany*, and spar'd neither his Estate nor Person to help him to Subdue his Enemies. For this Reason did *Henry* the fourth prefer him before many Others, when the Marrying that Princess was the point in Agitation, and it's believ'd he did it too that he might not remit her Territories into the hands of a Person less affectionate to him than this Lord: For as they border with *France* on the side of *Germany*, it was that Great Kings Interest to be carefull on whom he bestow'd the Heirefs. But be it as it will, the new Duke of *Bouillon* on his very Wedding night endeavour'd to acquit himself of that Obligation; for leaving his Brides Bed, he put on his Armour, and went and surpriz'd the City of *Stenay*, which acquired him Great Reputation. Nevertheless tho' *Henry* the 4<sup>th</sup>, Esteem'd him dayly more and more, yet he did not long entertain him with the same favour, which I shall attribute to what I am going to relate. This Great King was obliged to turn *Catholique*, so to appease the troubles of his Kingdom; and the Duke of *Bouillon*, a Protestant; not being of a humour to follow his Masters Example, he became suspected to the King for the kindness born him by those of his Religion. The Jealousy conceiv'd by the King on this Occasion was so Great, that the Duke of *Bouillon* found

found himself oblig'd to withdraw into *Germany*, from whence he Writ to the King, and procur'd other Letters from Divers Princes his Relations. The King sent to him to return and trust in his Royall Word ; but he was loath to obey ; as knowing he had Enemies at Court, who endeavour'd to render him answerable for Sundry Complaints made by People of the Religion in great pow'r at that time. Moreover accus'd he was of having endeavour'd to draw into the Kingdom the Army of *Mansfeld*, a famous General, who without being in any Bodies Pay had found the Secret to keep on foot an Army of thirty thousand men, and make himself feared by all *Europe*. At length time having appeas'd all things, the Duke of *Bouillon* went to kisse the Kings hand, and then retired to *Sedan*, where his main Care was to educate his Children suitably to their Condition.

God having given him, as I have already sayd, the *Viscount de Turenne*, whose Life I here delineate ; he was brought up in the *Protestant* Religion, to which his Mother shew'd her self as zealous as his Father. As soon as he was come to an age ripe for Instruction, he had Masters given him accordingly, some appointed to teach him the Exercizes befitting a Person of his Quality; &'tis inconceivable how easily he learnt every thing ; which sufficiently Testify'd the Vivacity of his Wit. Nevertheless, as some things he apply'd himself more willingly to than others, his Inclination lay for those that concern'd Arms ; For as for Sciences he set himself slightly to them, or, as I may say, for fashions sake, which sometimes put *Monsieur de Bouillon* out of humour, because he would have render'd him accomplit in all things. When he had attain'd fifteen years of Age, *Monsieur de Bouillon* resolv'd to send him into *Holland*, at that time the School of War for all Persons of Quality, and where

was already his Eldest Brother. For the States after having brought *Spain* to demand a Truce, saw themselves upon the point of renewing Hostilities for ascertaining their freedom. He gave him Letters for Prince *Maurice* his Brother in Law, the Greatest Captain of his Age, and the Person to whom the *Hollanders* are most indebted for their Establishment. For tho' they began to cast off the *Spaniards* yolk under *William* Prince of *Orange*, and that they acquir'd their freedom under the Government of *Frederick Henry*, We may say that without *Maurice* they would have found it difficult to compass their Designs. This Prince being the Person, who began not only to restore Discipline in Armies, but likewise put in Practice a world of things till then unknown by Judges. He had the Love of his Souldiers beyond Imagination, was fear'd by his Enemies, and esteem'd by all his Neighbours; Worthy in short of Commanding the Greatest States, but happy in having been only the Head of a rising Commonwealth, since so many Great events can only be imputed to his virtue.

The *Viscount de Turenne* had had Order at his Departure from *Sedan* to apply himself to all that Prince should do as to a Perfect Model. But no need was there of this Command to inspire him with what it became him to do; He only look'd upon him with Admiration; and in the Desire he had to render himself one day a great Captain, he observ'd to his least actions; and tho' so young, was not wanting to note his Conduct and Prudence. Prince *Maurice* beginning to perceive in him an admirable Genius for War, was very willing to Cultivate it, and wou'd not suffer him to serve in the Cavalry, as did *Monsieur de Bouillon* his Eldest Brother. *Monsieur de Turenne* found no difficulty to obey him, for he had already a kindness for the foot, and never while he liv'd bely'd that Inclination.

nation. He was wont to say, that the foot made War and the Horse look'd on, which he meant as to Sieges, where the Horse for the most part have nothing to do. Prince *Maurice* wou'd have him, for all his being his Nephew, begin the Trade like Others, that is to say, carry a Musket; for that he might have an Army ever well disciplin'd, he suffer'd not a man of what ever Quality to become an Officer, without having first learnt how to Obey; for which reason he commonly said, that the trade of War had some affinity with the Conquest of a Beautifull Woman, that the one was only learnt foot by foot, and the other not obtain'd without much trouble.

The *Viscount de Turenne* having already the Wit to judge in due manner of all things, went not only willingly about what his Unkle desired of him, but as much out of inclination to please him, he resolv'd to do the Duty of a Common Souldier. He perform'd the Guards of fatigue as well as the Guards of Honour, and those who till then had Exempted themselves from those offices, out of Shame to see their lazyness tacitly reprov'd by a young Prince and the nephew of their General, enter'd insensibly into a practise of their Duty: yet they wou'd not imitate him so far as in the pains he took when the Army was on the March, when he never quitted his Ranks. But his Uncle fearing he might heat himself, Check'd him for rashly Expos'ing his health, so that he determin'd to do like others. Prince *Maurice's* Order Extreemly pleas'd all the Younger Brothers, who saw themselves under the Necessity of doing like the Viscount, or of being Expos'd to the Censure of the Officers, and perchance to the Contempt of the Souldiers; and I believe it partly in this Consideration, that Prince *Maurice* had this Complaisance, for in the Exactness he had for matters relating to the Military Service,

he must have had powerfull Reason to oblige him to Slacken. However the Viscount de *Turenne* that he might give Example to Others, chose the Rear of his Batallion, and tho' the Officers desired him to place himself with them, he ever declin'd so doing with Excuses, saying, there ought to be some Difference between the Officers and Souldiers. This Occasion'd Prince *Maurice* to make an Ordinance, by which the Officers were no longer to put themselves at the head of their Batallions; and all knowing the Viscount de *Turenne* to be the Occasion of this Decree, concluded, that since he was capable in so Green an Age, to observe the Discipline with such Exactness, much another thing wou'd it be when with years he had attain'd more Knowledge.

He did not long enjoy the happiness of serving under Prince *Maurice*. This Prince out of a Passion for Glory, having undertaken to relieve *Breda*, which the *Spaniards* had besieg'd, dy'd of Grief for not having bin able to Effect his Design. The States, after having render'd all imaginable Honours to his Memory, Elected in his Room, for the Command of their Armies, Prince *Henry Frederick* his Brother, who had the same Goodness and tenderness for the Viscount de *Turenne*, as had had the General Deceas'd. Yet his Birth and Merit requiring his being distinguisht from others, Prince *Frederick Henry* gave him a Company of Foot. If he had been a good Souldier, he was still a better Captain. He did not do like many Persons of Quality now a-days, who rely upon their Lieutenants for the Care and Management of their Companies. He did not think himself sufficient for its thorough Improvement and well-being; as Young as he was he shew'd himself severe towards his Souldiers, when severity was requisite: but saving in matters regarding the Service, he Sympathiz'd their Mi-  
series

series and sufferings; and it was not only with the Mouth, the general Mode of these times, but his Purse was ever open to the Unhappy; and he did not consider whether they were of his own company or of another's, when they needed his Assistance. This put him often under the want of Money; but he told those who remonstrated it to him, that he should at least confine his Liberalities to his own Company; that Money was much better employ'd this way than in Play, in Luxury, or Debauchery, for which reason he did not Game, or at least, he play'd so small a matter, as was not capable of rendring him uneasy. Nor was he also at great expence in Cloaths, and if sometimes he lay under an Obligation to put on the Garb of a Person of his Quality, he did it without affectation, and without deriving a vanity from those sort of things, as are indeed only superfluous. He said, a man shou'd never be Pompous and Magnificent, with other intent, than the Profit and Livelyhood of Poor People; that finery was more troublesome than gratefull, and neatness sufficient; that a man of Quality was sufficiently distinguish'd of himself, without still aiming to be conspicuous by Gew-gaws and Trifles; that we shou'd leave to Women the seeking after Trappings and Ornaments: but that a man born for Great Matters should slight those that favour'd of Effeminacy.

This amaz'd the world to see so much Prudence and Wisdom in a Person of his Age, and none that knew him, but past in his favour an advantageous judgment of the future. For besides this, he was of a strong and robust Constitution, tho' none of the Biggest, nor Best made; but seen to despise the hardships and rigours of the season, never complaining of heat or Cold, ever sensible of the fatigues of Others, but never speaking of his own, as if he had been in-  
sensible

sensible for himself only. The *French* Officers, considerably numerous in the States Army, admiring this young Prince, whose Grandeur of Courage shin'd in all things, writ his Circumstances into their own Country, and said, if he liv'd the Age of man, he cou'd not fail of one day trumping up his Fame. This made severall Persons of Quality write to him obligingly upon this Subject, and among Others *Henry of Bourbon* Prince of *Condé*, who after the Death of *Henry* the 4<sup>th</sup> was return'd to *France* with his Wife; for whose sake he had fled into Foreign Countries: for this Great King being of an Amorous complexion, cou'd not see that Princess without being strongly toucht and Charmed with her Merit: and this had Created so great a Jealousy in the Prince of *Condé*, that he caus'd his Wife to pack up, & carry'd her to *Bruxelles*. In the mean while the Mareschal *D'Ancre* possessing the Queen Mother's favour, had caus'd him to be confin'd shortly after his Return, and tho' this Mareschal was some time after kill'd upon the Bridge of the *Louvre*, by Command from the Court, yet this Prince was not releas'd out of Prison, 'till other great Charges had happen'd in the State.

But to return to my Subject, the Prince of *Condé* having Written to the Viscount *de Turenne*, as I have newly said, the Viscount made him so modest an Answer, that this Prince, his Relation, had him still in the more esteem: In the mean while some days after an occasion serv'd to shew his Courage, and this was the taking of *Klundert* and *Willemstadt*, which Prince *Frederick Henry* caus'd to be attack'd. He behav'd himself in that Occasion, not only as might be expected from a young Prince for whom the World had a peculiar value; but seeing his Soldiers suffer'd themselves to be hurry'd on so inconsiderately by their Courage, that they broke their Ranks, and  
by

march'd in Disorder, he staid the hottest, and by his  
 Wisdom prevented the Enemies from advantaging  
 themselves of their Imprudence. After this he  
 fought and underwent as much of the Peril and  
 Drudgery of the Assault as the meanest Souldier,  
 and having torn up a Palisade with his own  
 hand, he made a Passage for Others to advance much  
 farther. The Enemies after a vigorous Defence, were  
 at length compell'd to abandon their R trenchments  
 and betake themselves to their heels. The victorious  
 Souldier committed great Disorders in those two  
 Places; and tho' the Inhabitants by their own fault  
 seem'd to have incurred that Calamity, for they had  
 taken up Arms with the Garrison, the Viscount  
*de Turenne* cou'd not see so much blood shed with-  
 out giving tokens of his Good Disposition. Being  
 come into *Gertruidenberg* in the head of his Company,  
 a Woman perceiving more respect paid him than to  
 the other Captains, made her address to him for Ju-  
 stice against a Souldier, who after having plunder'd  
 her House of All, won'd needs into the Bargain violate  
 her Daughter, a Girl of about Fifteen Years old.  
 The Viscount *de Turenne* told her at first that she must  
 address herself to the Commander of the Regiment,  
 meaning thereby to express the Obedience that Peo-  
 ple are bound to pay to their Superiours: but under-  
 standing the Case to be urgent, he hasten'd into  
 her House, where having found the Souldier striving  
 to commit violence upon her Daughter, he put him-  
 self into a Posture to disarm him. The Souldier, being  
 found in the very Action, judging he was lost, resolv'd  
 to sell his Life Dearly, and drew his Sword in his  
 own Defence; but the Viscount *de Turenne* without  
 considering his Desperateness, which render'd him  
 much stronger than ordinary, attack'd him so briskly,  
 that he push'd him up to the very wall, but others  
 coming



coming in help'd him to take him. Put he was into the hands of Justice, and found to be related to a number of Worthy Persons who came to intercede for him. Thus was the Viscount *de Turenne* dayly importun'd to grant him, as I may say, his Pardon; for tho' he was not the Party to be address'd to for that purpose, yet they had recourse to him, as knowing him to be in the Generals favour, besides his being concern'd in the Principal Offence: for 'twas a terrible Crime in a Souldier to have dar'd to draw his Sword against a Captain; not only so, but the Nephew too of him who Commanded the Army. But the Viscount *de Turenne* without being wrought upon by their Persuasions, told those who spoke in this man's behalf, that as for what he had done against him, he willingly forgave him, nay and wou'd employ his Offices to procure his Pardon, but that God forbid he shou'd beg for a man's Life, who having Power in his hand, wou'd use it not only to content his Avarice, but also his Brutality. Wherefore he left to the Council of War to judge him as they pleas'd, and the Council having Sentenc'd him to have his hand Cut off, and to be hang'd, the Viscount *de Turenne* exerted the effect of his Promises, for knowing they cut off his hand only for what he had done against him, he so importun'd Prince *Frederick Henry*, that notwithstanding the repugnance he had to grant a Pardon of that nature, he cou'd not refuse him what he required. After this the Souldiers Relations, who had hitherto found Prince *Frederick Henry* inexorable, threw themselves at his feet to implore that the Souldiers Pardon might be absolute; and this Prince who had done a violence to his humour in granting a thing contrary to the rigour of Discipline, found it more easy to grant another, tho' God in it was more offended.

In the mean while matter was preparing in *France* for his acquiring more Glory. The Peace between *Spain* and Us, was dayly upon the point of being broken, and whatever inclination the Queen Mother had for it's Continuance, things hourly occur'd which made it presum'd the two Crowns wou'd not be long without coming to a Rupture. The *Spaniards* had seiz'd on the *Valteline* some time since, and All *Italy* being by this means menac'd with falling under their Power, had recourse to the King as the only Prince capable of freeing them from servitude. The Kings Inclination dispos'd him to march to the succours of those who reclaim'd his Protection, but being Susceptible of all the Impressions People were minded to give him, a Moments Conversation with the Queen-Mother, or the Ministers, some of whom were Wedded to the Interests of that Princess, Others to the Crown of *Spain*, qualst his Noblest Designs. *Villeroy* especially was suspected of obstructing the effect of his Resolutions, and the Imputation he had had, during the League, of being a Partizan of *Spain*, still corroborated the Opinion People entertain'd, that he would not be Sorry if that Nation subdued *Italy*. However his Death having made better hopes to be conceived by those who desired the Crown of *France* should Embrace *Italy's* Defence, they Expected this Event from *Puiseux*, then entring into favour, and whom the King had declared Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Room of *Villeroy*. And indeed the Beginnings were answerable to the hopes People had Conceived: *Puiseux* in the King's name assured all the Princes who had Interest in the thing, that they should be powerfully and speedily assisted. The Marechal de *Bassompierre* was dispatcht into *Switzerland* to take Measures with the *Cantons*, who were in like manner threatened with the loss of their Liberty.

Liberty. But when People were just upon the point of seeing great things Midwiv'd, the Money of *Spain* cool'd *Puisieux's* Zeal, and under the Pretext of reducing the *Hughenots*, he made the King let fall the Design he had of relieving *Italy*.

The Duke *de Luines* then in great favour with the King, and who without ever having been in War, was all of a Sudden become Constable, by having had the trick to ingratiate himself with his Majesty by teaching several sorts of Birds to fly, promoted this Expedition, which he might have hinder'd by his Credit. But being very willing not to Embroil himself further with the Queen-Mother, with whom already he stood not in over-good terms, by reason of the Murder of the Marechal *d'Ancre*, of which he was the Principal Cause; for he it was Whisper'd the King, that this Marechal was more in a Certain Princess's favour than suted with her Honour, and as the King had already admitted some suspicion from certain occurrences, the Duke found little Difficulty to obtain Orders to Kill him. In Effect their Intrigue was become so much the Publick Discourse, that nothing was more Common than the hearing it talk'd of, and the Count *de Lude* was banish'd on that account; for this Lord, who to the Prejudice of his fortune, lov'd to flush a Wittycisme, when Occasion serv'd, had one day answer'd a Lady, who said, she was going to fetch, that Princess's \*Vail, *there's no need of a Sail* Vail and Sail. *for a Frigate that rides at Anchor.*

Great Preparations were made for the War against the *Hughenots* out of whose hands the Court was minded to wrest the Places they had demanded for their Security. Four Armies were brought on foot, one of which was design'd against the Places in the Neighbourhood of *Rochel*, another against the  
*Hughenots*

*Hughenots* of *Berry*, another against those of *Guyenne*, and the King in Person March'd against *St. Jean d'Angels* with the most Powerfull. This War was quickly terminated, the King Subdued all the Places he undertook, with more ease than he durst have hoped, for Division reigned in the Party, where the very heads were the First that Betray'd 'em: For under Colour of giving all contentment, they took Care of a great many Places that cou'd do 'em no Good, and left Others that were Strong and Defensible wholly unprovided. *Lesdiguieres* was made Constable in the *Room* of *Luines*, Dead of sickness, for the Good Services he did in that Occasion, and Chang'd his Religion; *La Force* had the Staff of Marechal of *France*, and *Chavillon* had money, so as the whole Party had no hopes save in *Messieurs de Rohan & Soubize* who remained faithfull. *Montpellier* having by their means made a vigorous Defence, the King was compell'd to stay a long time before the Town to reduce it, but fearing his inability to compass that Design, and the hazzarding his Reputation, he made a Treaty with the *Hughenots* which prov'd short-liv'd. In the mean while the Princes of *Italy*, not listen'd to while the War continu'd, nicking the advantage of this Peace, brought the affairs of the *Valtelino* again into consultation, and having accus'd *Puisjeux*, either of corresponding with the *Spaniard*, or of Male-administration in the King's Service, he was expell'd the Court, and Chancellour *de Sillery* his Father involv'd in his Downfall. The Chancellour's Brother was likewise recall'd from *Rome*, being there in Quality of Ambassadour, on the Pretence he had exceeded his Instructions, insomuch that the Count *de Beshunes* was sent in his stead, for the Pope began to understand the Affair of the *Valtelino*, and necessary was it to have about him a man in whom Confidence might be put.

All this, as I have said, made the world conclude that a War was drawing on with the *Spaniards*; for they, far from listening to any Restitution, built Forts in several places to secure their Conquests; Besides this, they endeavour'd to gain over *England*, or at least to amuse it with some Hopes, that so it might not beard and thwart their Ambition. For this purpose they had propos'd the Marriage of their *Infanta* with the Prince of *Wales*, Heir Apparent of the Crown, and the Pourtraict of that Princess flattering the Original, being seconded with plausible offers and Assurances, invited this Prince to undertake a journey into *Spain*, which Court was in reality no wise inclin'd to conclude this Alliance; for that Crown aspiring to the Universal Monarchy, and thinking to attain it by affecting a zealous steddyness to the Court of *Rome*, was far from closing-up this Match, and deferr'd it from day to day under various Pretences. At length the Prince of *Wales* finding the Pageantry of the *Spaniards* proceedings, and the insincerity and trifling of their Conduct towards him, return'd thence Extreemly Piqu'd against that Nation, and resolv'd when occasion serv'd, to make 'em feel his resentment.

The Marquess *de la Vieuville*, succeeding into favour at the *French* Court after *L'uisieux's* Disgrace, and willing to avail himself of this Discontent to do his Countrey service, propos'd then the Marriage of that Prince with a Daughter of *France*, and the thing having been approved of by all the Parties concern'd, the Alliance was quickly concluded on with a War against the *Spaniard*. For besides what I have newly instanc'd, *England* was Wonderfully Edg'd against the House of *Austria*, that had stript the Elector of *Palatinate* of his Dominions, and Vow'd his Ruine, for having accepted the Crown of *Bohemia* to the Prejudice

of it's Interests. Nevertheless this Alliance which must have produc'd a good effect between the two Nations, only serv'd to alienate their minds by the Interest of the two Ministers; for the Duke of *Buckingham* being come into *France* in Quality of Embassadour Extraordinary, fell in Love with a Lady of the first rank, whom *Richelieu* loving also, became jealous, and made use of the credit he began to have with the King to mortify the Duke; so as instead of concurring together to the Ruine of the *Spaniard*, their thoughts were wholly taken up how to ruine one another, and their animosity drew-on in a little time that of the two Nations.

The Prince of *Wales* coming suddainly after to the Crown, was not wanting to Arm powerfully by Sea to Execute his first Intentions. But *Richelieu*, to be reveng'd on *Buckingham*, who had a great Ascendant at the Court of *England*, not only refus'd him the Succours which the *French* were bound to supply him with by the Treaty, but likewise prevail'd with his most Christian Majesty to forbid that Duke Entrance into the Kingdom, whither his Master meant to send him in Quality of Embassadour. And the pretext for all this was a pretended ill treatment to the Queen of *England*, and her Domesticks, part of whom for their Insolencies were sent back into *France*, and the others disturb'd in the exercise of their Religion.

Besides the Feud between those two Ministers, some Reasons were there of Policy, which induc'd *Richelieu* to act in this manner, for his being in favour had Created him a considerable number of Enemies, among whom was the Duke of *Orleans*, with most of the Princes of the Blood. Thus he fear'd that if he undertook a War against the *Spaniard*, they wou'd have the more means to harm him: joyn'd to this, that the Queen Mother, tho' much declin'd in her Credit,

never ceas'd threatning to ruine him, if he was so hardy as to undertake it against her Consent. These Conjectures having brought prejudice to the Intentions of the King of *England*, his Fleet return'd into Port, after having been notably endamag'd by foul weather.

The King of *England* being incens'd at *France's* Breach of Promise, and having resolv'd to be reveng'd, was still excited by *Buckingham*, who joyn'd to the Resentment of the King his Master, his own Private Piques. The occasion was quickly offer'd. The *Huguenots* having found after the Peace they had newly concluded, that it had been only made to divide and set them at odds, threw themselves into his Arms, and having implored his Protection, he promis'd it, tho' not so much for their sakes as his own.

This Transaction was not so secretly manag'd, but that *Richelieu*, a Minister that spar'd no Costs for Intelligence, had intimation of it from several parts; but tho' this gave him some Alarm, yet was it nothing in Comparison of the Disquiet things put him under that were brewing in the Kingdom. The *Spaniards* to prevent their meddling in Forreign matters, endeavour'd to find 'em work at Home. And knowing the bent of the Duke of *Orleans's* temper, who turn'd and Weather-cock'd it, as I may say, with all winds, they had prepar'd him for strange Novelties. This Prince being look'd on as Presumptive-Heir of the Crown, for that his Brother had no Children, nay, and without hopes of having any, wanted not Creatures to in-blow him with ill Counsel; for some out of the Spleen they bore the New Minister, and others in hopes of a better fortune, had a furious grudging for a Change. The Queen her self had a deep hand in  
this

this Intrigue, for the *Spanish* Embassadour having possess'd her she shou'd be suddenly repudiated, on the score of her Sterility, she bent her thoughts to ruine *Richelieu*, whom she look'd upon as the Author of that Counsel. The Queen Mother out of the same Passion of removing him from Affairs, still augmented her Daughter in Law's Suspicions, so as she was inclin'd to baulk no means as might prevent this Misfortune. The Count of *Soissons*, Prince of the Blood, espous'd the Interests of the two Queens with *Messieurs de Vendôme*, and many other Persons of the first Quality at Court, and their Intention was to Marry the Duke of *Orleans* with the *Infanta* of *Spain*; the Queen Regnant's Sister; that in Case the King came to dye, she might remain in *France* with Honour, without being oblig'd to return into *Spain*, as a Person unhappy and a Fugitive. The Duke of *Orleans* had another Design, he lov'd the Queen, and wou'd have been well Content his Brother had been Dead or put into a Convent, that he might be in a capacity to satisfy his Passion. But the Marechal *D'Ornano*, who had been his Governor, and still retain'd a great Authority over his Mind, jump't in neither of their Projects; He was enamour'd of the Princess of *Condé*, and to ingratiate himself the better with her, he had promis'd her, his Master should never Marry any other than the Princess her Daughter, since marry'd to *Mr. de Longueville*. This Obstacle retarded the Queen's Design. But *Madam de Chevreuse*, their Confident, occasion'd another sturdy Impediment. For being in love with *Chalais* Master of the Queen's Wardrobe, and having told all to him in Private, he went and told it again to the King, and alarm'd him to that Degree, that his Majesty wou'd have had forthwith confin'd, his Mother, Wife, and Brother, with all those engag'd



in their Intrigue. *Richelieu* had all the pain imaginable to Moderate his Passion: But having remonstrated to him, that if he wou'd secure his Revenge, it was needfull to Dissemble; He went to *Fontainebleau*, where he caus'd the Mareschal *D'Ornano* to be secur'd with *Mr. de Vendôme*. The Count of *Soisson's* withdrew into *Italy*, and by his flight evaded a like treatment, and perhaps a Worse, for neither the King nor *Richelieu* lov'd him, and perchance might have made sure of him against the future by some fatal Resolution. The Queen was ill treated both by the King and *Richelieu*, who meant by this means to be reveng'd for her slights to him, & had Chang'd his Love into Hate. *Messieurs de Vendôme* were releas'd some time after out of Prison, but the Mareschal *D'Ornano* dy'dn't, not without suspicion of having been poison'd.

The Duke of *Orleans's* Chastisement was to be match'd out of hand to the Courts mind, and he marry'd *Mademoiselle de Montpensier* a Princess of the Blood, and extremely Rich. Nevertheless he wou'd more willingly have Embrac'd a forraign Alliance out of the Design he had of raising a Commotion: But what made him desire it, being a Reason not to grant it, he was under an obligation to Conform to the Will of the King his Brother, who promis'd in consideration of this Compliance to forget all former Passages. The Queen Mother having been at first delirous for another Alliance, shew'd herself in the sequel passionate for this: But the most sagacious, attributed it to her Policy, which did not allow her to declare her Reall Sentiments, So as that the World did this notwithstanding entertain the Opinion, that this still the more incens'd her against *Richelieu*, to whom she before bore sufficient ill will, because gradually as he made Progresses in the Kings Favour,

Favour, he endeavour'd to drive her thence.

All that I have now said ; did not however hinder this Minister from making a Treaty with the *Spaniard*, for tho' his thoughts were wholly upon the Grandeur of the Kingdom, he was still retain'd by the fear of the Queen Mother, who ever threaten'd him if he came to an Open Rupture with that Crown. But underhand he neglected Nothing that might tend to Create it troubles. He sent Money into *Holland*, and endeavour'd to Engage the King of *Sweden* to make head against the Greatness of that House, the German Branch of which was become so formidable to Other Princes, that it had nothing left to do but taking of *Straelfunds*, for the reducing them into an absolute Slavery. The Duke of *Mantona's* Death, happen'd also very seasonably to furnish him with new Designs of Greatnels. Several Princes pretending to his Succession, oppos'd the Investiture of it demanded by the Duke of *Nevers*, the Lawfull Heir ; and *Ferdinand* the Emperour requiring only a Pretext to take Possession of the Dukedome of *Mantona* and the Marquisate of *Montferrat*, then in Debate, sent vast Armies into *Italy*. All the Princes to whom that Enterprize was capable of giving jealousy, had recourse to the King, as they had done in the Affair of the *Valteline*, and *Richelieu*, notwithstanding the Cabals of the Queens and *Spaniards*, promis'd the *Venetians*; who seem'd more alarum'd than Others, that an Army shou'd be sent beyond the *Alpes* to Secure the Succession to whom it belong'd. And indeed the Marquis *D'Uxelles* had orders to draw together the Troups that were upon the frontiere, and Conduct them to the succours of *Cazal*, which the *Imperialists*, being assisted with *Spanish* Troups had allready besieged: But the Duke of *Savoys* having oppos'd the Passage of our Forces, the Army dispers'd of it self for want of

Provisions, or rather thro' the Intrigues of the Queen Mother, who had gain'd the Principal Commander, to draw upon *Rich: lieu* this Check and Affront: This Disgrace was rewarded by the *English* being baulk'd of their expected Successes; for they being call'd by the *Hughenots* of *Rochel* to free their Town from it's Blockade, made a Descent into the Isle of *Rhe*: But having neglected out of too much Confidence to Secure the Fort *de la Pree*, *Thoiras* made such a Brave Defence, as gave time to *Canaples* to come to his Succours with Eight hundred men, and afterwards to *Schomberg* with a Greater Number; So that the *English*, leaving their Canon behind, retir'd in some Disorder to their Ships: This happy Success hasten'd the Design of the Siege of *Rochel*, for the Execution of which, the *Hollanders* promis'd Men and Ships, tho' the Conformity of Religion seem'd rather, that they should have undertaken the Defence than the Ruine of that City: But other Considerations having prevail'd over this, they perform'd their Promises. The *Rochellers* despis'd at first this Enterprize, as being above the Kings Forces, But when they saw that the Cardinal Caus'd a Dyke to be made in the Sea to divest 'em of all hopes of Succours, they joyn'd Joaks and Mockeries to Contempt, imagining this Work wou'd only turn to his Confusion. And indeed 'twas as a Dream to many People, to see 'em aim at Subduing so furious an Element: But when they perceiv'd the Work advanc'd, they began to change that great Confidence into a fear, which did not however bereave 'em of the Courage to stand upon their Defence: On the Contrary the more they saw the Danger was pressing, the more things they did to remove it: they call'd in the *English* to their Assistance: Who Fitted out a brave Fleet under the Command of the Duke of *Buckingham*. But still not finding the  
Occasion

Occasion to wreak his Revenge on the Cardinal, against whom he was infinitely enrag'd, he return'd to *England*, after having been worsted in two or three Encounters. The King of *England* still persevering in his Good intentions for the *Rochellers*, having given order for repairing the Fleet, and putting out new Ships to Sea, the Duke of *Buckingham* was again nominated for that Expedition: But was assassinated at home upon the point of his Departure, which occasion'd the King to name another in his stead. This latter was not more Prosperous than the Lord of *Buckingham*; for after having in vain attempted to give Succours to the Beseiged, and been repuls'd, he return'd in like manner into *England*, abandoning the *Rochellers* to their own Defence. At length after they had made the utmost efforts of Resistance, even to eating the vilest things for want of victuals, they Surrender'd the City, which held out from the 10. of *September* 1627. to the 29 of *October* 1628.

The taking of *Rochelle*, look'd upon as an Impregnable Place, not only Surpriz'd Strangers, but likewise most of those of the Nation, who in the Broiles and Confusions the State had been in for near a Century, had ever found their Sanctuary in that Town against the Royall Authority. And indeed it was reckon'd as the Center of Rebellion, and this is what most powerfully excited the King and his Minister to undertake it's Reduction. Thus amidst the Publick Rejoycings, which the Court order'd to be made for that happy Success, tokens were seen in Peoples faces which bely'd Appearances: But the King without otherwise minding what they harbour'd in their Bosomes, receiv'd indifferently from Strangers and from the *French*, Congratulations upon that Great Event. Among those however who plaid the

the Plain-Dealers, and spoke from the Bottom of their Hearts, were the Parties concern'd in the Affairs of *Italy*, who were under a total Despondency, unless a speedy Remedy was apply'd: For the Emperours Troups were not only before *Casal*, but also before *Mantona*, around which Place they had seiz'd all the Considerable Posts. For this Reason, When they made him the Complements upon his new Conquest, they desir'd him to run in to the Succours of *Italy*, certainly lost without his Aid. The Queen Mother covertly oppos'd this Expedition, to which the King seem'd of himself inclin'd. But Cardinal *Richelieu* to whose management the taking of *Rochelle* was indebted, Soaring to blaze his Name among Forreigners, egg'd the King on in his Design. Thus the *Italian* Expedition having been resolv'd on, notwithstanding the Rigours of the Season, and the obstacles thwarting it, the King fell to march with his Army, and the Rumour of his Coming being Spread far and near, long before his appearing Upon the frontiers: His Adversaries thoughts were wholly employ'd in barring him Entrance either willingly or by Force. The first means seeming more easy than the second, The Duke of *Savoy* having declar'd against the new Duke of *Mantona*, sent his Son to meet the King, and encharg'd him with Sundry Proposals; but not one of 'em being Satisfactory to the King or Cardinal, to whom the King referr'd all things, this Prince was oblig'd to get him back to his Father, and return with new Instructions. In the mean while the Pass of *Susa* was forc't: but while the King was preparing to make the Duke of *Savoy* repent the Resistance he dar'd to make, his Son arriv'd, who in virtue of the Pow'r he had from him, submitted to all the Conditions the Court of *France* thought fitting to impose. As soon as the

*Spaniards*

*Spaniards* knew of the Accommodation, they drew their Troups from before *Casal*, for that otherwise the Land of *Milan* had remain'd Expos'd. The *Imperialists* did the like, and the King overjoy'd with having sav'd the place, by the bare Rumour of his Fame, sent *Thoiras* thither, without engaging himself farther.

The King's journey into *Italy* had been the Discourse in all Courts long afore it's being undertaken, for we were very willing to shew thereby to Our Allies, that in the hurry of Domestick Combustions we were not wanting to take care of Foreign Affairs. The news of it came to the ears of the Viscount *de Turenne*, still in *Holland*, as well as to the ears of many Others, and being inflam'd with a desire to signalize himself in his own Country, he thence took occasion to desire his return into *France*. But Prince *Henry Frederick* wou'd in no wise grant it, alleading the War of the *Huguenots* not to be yet terminated, and perhaps wou'd be again renew'd in a very little while ; that thus it was not justice to go draw his Sword against his Brothers, who had ever had so much regard for their Family ; that it became him to follow his Fathers example, who retir'd and staid at his own home, as soon as he saw the Ministry bent upon infringing the Edicts, under whose Faith those of their Communion had thought themselves in safety. His Mother wrote to him to the same purpose upon this Subject, and as he was all Obedience to her, *Monsieur* the Duke of *Bouillon* being Dead at *Sedan* in the Year 1623, he was far from insisting any longer upon that journey. Nevertheless he was in no wise content to remain any longer in *Holland*, where the Climate and the Demeanour of the People did not in the least sute his humour, he said, they  
in

in *France* breath'd a more pure and Temperate air ; and to express the aversion he had for those who took Tobacco, he sometimes maintain'd out of a kind of Raillery, it to be the smoak that came out of the Pipes which rendred the air so thick and heavy : yet knowing it to be a thing the Souldiers cou'd not be without, he said nothing to them when he found 'em suncking, but had not the same Complaisance for others, but told 'em freely his Opinion. He had still more aversion for Drunkards whom he cou'd in no wise endure. He said, if Drunkenness was a Defect in all sorts of Persons, a much greater was it still in a Martial man, who had not like others the times of Recreation and Repose ; that it became a Souldier to be ever ready for the first Command, which when Drunk he could not be. He never was the first to broach these sort of Discourses, for fear of being tax'd with the Arrogancy of rebuking others ; but when once flush'd in Conversation, he cou'd not well refrain letting them slip without speaking his Sentiments in the Case, for most of the Officers, without so much as Excepting the *French*, had such a Propensity to Debauchedness, that it seem'd to make part of their Profession.

In the mean while the occasions of Signalizing himself were not very frequent in the Country he resided in, since his abode there, they had almost ever been forc'd to play the Defensive Part, and tho' they attempted several enterprizes, not one of them sped : They sail'd in that of *Antwerp*, where they had Correspondence, and this young Courage became pawl'd, as I may say, to see that Fortune did not appear in favour of it's Party. Afraid he was, that *Maurice*, who had not been over-Successfull a Year or two before his Death, had left  
his

his Brother the Heir of his Ill Fortune, as well as of his Estate; and like to those Hunters who are not content unless they take the Game they have pursu'd, he wou'd have had all things tune in Consort with his Expectation. Prince *Henry Frederick* blam'd him sometimes for his Impatience, but considering it only departed from an excess of Courage, he found not much to incurr his Censure and Rebuke: He only told him it, to be sometimes needfull to moderate one's self, and acquainting him with the Reasons for all he did, he instructed him in what he had the most Passion to learn. In short this Prince being desirous to see some great Occasion, remain'd not long without having satisfaction. *Boisleduc* at the Extremity of *Brabant*, was, if a man may say it, a Thorn in the State's foot, of which they dayly found the smart and inconvenience, and being necessary to pull it out, the States gave order to Prince *Henry Frederick*, Prince of *Orange* since his Brothers Death, to lay Siege to that Place. This Fortress is much stronger by it's Scituation then by Contrivances us'd for it's Fortification. 'Tis Scituated in the midst of a Marsh, which seems to secure it from all Insult, and no Approaches can be made to't, but on the side of the Gate of *Maestricht*, wherein two Forts have been rais'd in which consist all it's Fortifications. Nevertheless these Fortifications seem sufficient for the safeguard of the Place, for the Ground is so narrow as not to bear more than ten men afront, nay and out of this compell'd have they been to raise a Causeway for the conveniency of Waggons, for the Water is so deep both on the Right and Left, that without this Contrivance no means wou'd there be for their Passage. In this so difficult a place was it the Prince of *Orange* made his Attack, and to repair



pair the inconveniences of Nature he employ'd all the stratagems of Art. Yet new Difficulties arose to those already in view ; for eight hundred men of the Garrison of *Breda*, got into the Town, in despite of those that had planted themselves upon the Avenues to hinder that Design : yet this did not discourage the Prince of *Orange*, but as he thence foresaw new Difficulties, he demanded new Succours of the States, who sent him a Reinforcement of six thousand men. The Viscount de *Turenne's* Assiduity was a remarkable thing in the Beginnings and Prosecution of this Siege, for tho' he had been present at that of *Grol*, which the Prince of *Orange* had taken the Year afore, that seem'd to him nothing in comparison of this. He admir'd the address us'd to divert the Course of the Rivers, the Invention of Mines, that of Bombs, and all the rest employ'd for the Destruction of his Enemy. But amid all this, far from being in the least wanting to his function of his Charge of Captain ; he was present at all the Attacks, nor more nor less than if he had been a Volunteer, and oblig'd to expose himself to all sorts of Perils. The *Sieur de Vassignae* his Governour being under a continual Disquiet for his Life, made his Complaints to *Monsieur de Bonillon*, and to the Prince of *Orange* himself, desiring them to moderate the excess of his Courage : But *Monsieur de Bonillon*, whose humour delighted in those sort of things, was far from condemning an Action he approv'd : On the contrary, being the first to do like him, he stopp'd *Vassignae's* mouth, who after this cou'd not do otherwise than follow them wherever their Courage carry'd them to seek out Danger. But the greatest risque the Viscount de *Turenne* ran in all the time of this Siege, was in an occasion created him by the Duke of *Bonillon*, who being

being Engag'd in the pursuit of four or five hundred men of the Garrison of *Breda*, that aim'd at putting themselves into the Town, receiv'd two shots in his Cloaths. The *Sieur de Vassinas* seeing him in the hottest of the Action, and all cover'd with Fire, threw himself in with him, to do the best he could to bring him off, or at least to interpose between him and Danger; but was not so happy as his Master, being somewhat dangerously wounded. After the Enemy's had made still some further Resistance, the Duke of *Bouillon* drove them from certain Hedges, to which they had made their Retreat, but still flying to others, he was fain to dismount. The Viscount de *Turenne* was he that first set foot to ground, and that had not the least part in their Defeat. The Prince of *Orange* well knowing to how great danger he had expos'd his Person, Dissembl'd the joy he had upon this occasion, by giving him an honourable Check, but withall cou'd not forbear telling his Principal Officers, that he was very much mistaken if that Young Prince wou'd not one day come to Eclipse the Glory of the Greatest Captains. For he was not'd to retain a cool temper in the hottest occasions. He courted indeed the greatest Perils, but did not expose himself hand over head; he weigh'd things before he undertook them, and in a green youth exerted the Conduct of a man of Fifty Years.

*Beisleduc* was of too great Consequence to the *Spaniards* to suffer it to be taken, without endeavouring to relieve it; for which reason the Marquis of *Berghen*, one of their Generals, was encharg'd with that Expedition, and advanc'd as far as *Boxtel* with eight thousand Foot & four thousand Horse; but after having in vain endeavour'd to take the Prince of *Orange* out of his Lines, and perceiv'd he was not in a capacity

pacity to force his Camp, without exposing himself to  
 an evident Defeat, he took his way towards the *Rhine*;  
 and having pass'd without any Obstacle that River;  
 he thought to make him raise the Siege, by the fear  
 he shou'd be under for the Places that were in the  
 heart of the Country. In effect the Prince of *Orange*  
 was alarm'd at his March, and much more so  
 when he heard he had pass'd the *Yssel*, taken *Amers-*  
*fort*, and made excursions to the very Gates of *Am-*  
*sterdam*. But while he made all the Provinces trem-  
 ble, the Governour of *Emerick* knowing he had led  
 along with him, the better part of the Garrison of  
*Wesel*, took that City by Scalade, and freed his Par-  
 ty from their Apprehensions. The Marquis of *Ber-*  
*ghen* fearing to be coopt up between the Rivers,  
 made a hasty retreat, but not without leaving a  
 strong suspicion of Correspondence with the Prince  
 of *Orange*. *Boisleduc* having expected some Great  
 matters from this Diversion, seeing it self Closely  
 press'd, and without hopes of Succours, Surrender'd  
 after a competent long Siege, and wherein the Parties  
 on both sides had Signaliz'd their Bravery.

The Affairs of *Italy* had now had a Breathing  
 while, but were not as yet compos'd. Indeed the  
 Siege of *Casal* had been rais'd; but besides that the  
 Imperialists were still around *Mantona*, that Siege  
 was just upon the point of being renew'd. *Spinola*,  
 having acquired a great Reputation in *Flanders*, had  
 quitted those Provinces by the King his Masters or-  
 der, and after having Embark'd with Numerous  
 Troups without any Bodies taking Wind of his De-  
 sign, he came to land at *Genova* in order to Execute  
 the Enterprizes contriv'd against the Repose of *Italy*.  
 The Viscount de *Turenne* who notwithstanding the  
 Remonstrances of his Mother had a great Passion to  
 Signalize himself in the Service of his own Country,  
 was now sent off by his Mother to the *siege*

seeing that according to all imaginable appearances a furious War was upon the point of being kindled between the two Crowns, he lay perpetually representing to her, that more Honour was to be acquired in Serving a Great Monarch, than a Commonwealth not yet well settl'd. But *Madam de Bouillon* having been born in those Provinces, Cover'd under the Cloak of Religion the Inclination she had for continuing him there : She durst not however openly oppose a sense of things so reasonable; but to weaken them the best she cou'd, she gave him to understand, there was no Difference between the Service he did the King in another Country, and that he did him in his Own; that besides the Alliance which this Prince had with the Commonwealth, he it was that furnish'd it with necessaries for Carrying on the War; maintaining there actually a Body of ten thousand Men, in the head of whom was a *Mareschal of France*, and that fighting as he did in those Troups, 'twas fighting for the King, for whose Service he manifested so much Passion; that besides she had the Comfort of knowing him with the Prince of *Orange* her Brother, who wou'd ever take more Care of him, than wou'd do another not so near related; that he must have patience, at least, wait till the King desir'd him; and that if he meant to enhance his Value, he must not Discover his Eagerness. But the Viscount *de Turenne* knew the Thoughts it became him to Entertain of this Answer. For tho' Youth is ever very prone to flatter it self, he did himself so much justice, as not to presume so highly to his Advantage: He knew well enough that at his years he was only considerable for his Birth, but if that was an advantage in respect of some Persons, it was not so much considerable with a Monarch that had so many greater than him-  
 Self that reckon'd it their Glory to do him Homage.

Thus

Thus through the Passion he had of making himself known to his Majesty more particularly than he was, he ventur'd to write to him ; but fearing *Monsieur de Bonillon* would oppose his Intention, and knowing his Governour wou'd never suffer him to do it, he Conceal'd the Bus'ness from 'em Both, and gave his Letter to the Mareschal *De Chatillon* then returning to Court. The Mareschal *De Chatillon* having deliver'd it, without acquainting any other as he had promis'd the Viscount, the King read it with Delight, and having already heard advantageous things of this young Prince, he judg'd the Good they spoke of him : to be still less than what might be Expected from him, Nevertheless for Reasons to me unknown, he did not send for the Viscount to him; for to Credit what I have heard affirm'd by certain People, namely, it to be on the Score of some Dissatisfactions giv'n him by the late *Monsieur De Bonillon*, is a thing not meriting much belief. The King was a Prince of too good nature to bear a grudge so long in his heart. *Monsieur De Bonillon* had then been Seven years Dead, and could be of nought else accus'd, than of having been too free with his Majesty in favour of those of the Religion. Much more reason is there to believe *Monsieur De Chatillon* had serv'd him but by halves, and that at the same time when he presented his Letter to the King, he represented to his Majesty it's not being convenient to take him yet from a School, where he render'd himself capable of doing him one Day Great Services. This was *Monsieur De Turenne's* thought : but as he was extremely reserv'd and Prudent for his Age, he only unbosom'd his Mind to his greatest Confidants, adding in Excuse of *Monsieur De Chatillon*, that if he did so, he did it with a good Intention that it was out of fear he might lose his time in France, where there was more prospect of a Civil than of a Foreign

Forreign War: In Reality, the Duke of *Orleans*, suf-  
 fering himself to be led dayly away by Evil Councils,  
 was still upon the Point of giving some disquiet to  
 the King his Brother. His Wife was Dead in Child-  
 Bed, and aim he did again to match himself with  
 some Forreign Princess, to have thereby the more  
 means to trouble the Kingdom: The Enemies of  
 Cardinal *de Richelieu* taking it ill that he made them so  
 little privy to his Affairs, put these thoughts in's  
 head, & People were dayly expecting that some Com-  
 motion or other wou'd break-out, instead of the ad-  
 vantages that they might promise to themselves in the  
 Flourishing Estate the Kingdom began to be in at that  
 time. Tho' *Monsieur de Turenne* was vext to see his  
 hopes miscarry: Yet he comforted himself, for he  
 thought after having done what lay in his Pow'r,  
 he cou'd do no more; that he had gone a great  
 way in making known his Zeal to the King, and that  
 His Prince being inform'd of it, it was now for his  
 Majesty to Command his Return, when he judg'd it  
 fitting. In the mean while the War that had been made  
 in *Flanders* with much fury, the Campaign afore cool'd  
 thro' the *Spaniards* want of Forces, they having  
 caus'd a great part of their Troups to march towards  
*Italy*. The *Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia*, Governess  
 of the Low-Countries, being afraid the *Hollanders*  
 might make advantage of that occasion, bethought  
 her self then to make several Proposals of a Truce;  
 and tho' the *Hollanders* knew on what Account these  
 Overtures were made, the desire they had to enjoy  
 some Quiet after troubles of Eighty Years conti-  
 nuance, caus'd 'em to suffer themselves to be am'nd.  
 The Cardinal *de Richelieu* resolving at any rate to  
 cross these Negotiations, sent an Embassadour to the  
*Hague*, who by the help of Money, which he did not  
 want, brought the States to change their Sentiments,  
 and to continue the War.

who instead of that Truce, Struck-up a new Alliance with the King. The Prince *Palatine*, then at the *Hague*, & whose Interest led him to Create Enemies to the *Spaniards*, us'd also on his part his utmost Pow'r to frustrate their Negotiations; but with all this, he had but a very slender Prospect of recovering his Imaginary Royalty, or his Quality of Elector, which the Emperor had stript him of, with it to invest the Duke of *Bavaria*. Dayly did he receive new Mortifications, and People far from acknowledging him as King of *Behemia*, as he said would have been own'd, his near Relations deny'd him so much as the Quality he inherited by his Birth, and added to the outrages done him by his Enemies, Injuries to him still more sensible. The Duke of *Newburgh* being come to the *Hague*, to adjust some Differences he had with the Republick, refus'd him the Upper-hand, and this provoking the Prince *Palatine*, such things pass'd between these two Princes, as would have transported 'em to Blows, had not the Prince of *Orange* Prudently interpos'd. But the Viscount de *Turenne*, the *Palatine's* near Kinsman, espousing his Interests, undertook to demand satisfaction for this Affront, but cou'd not bring it about, because the Duke of *Newburgh* wou'd not accept of a Duel. Two or three days pass'd before this new Quarrel was terminated, and in the mean while so many Persons throng'd to the Marechal de *Turenne* to offer him their Service, as sufficiently manifested the great value the world had for him. The Prince of *Orange* was not sorry for this Accident, for he was in the Interest of the Prince *Palatine*, but out of an unwillingness to declare himself, he oblig'd the Viscount de *Turenne* to make some Excuses to the Duke of *Newburgh*.

In the mean while matters of a much greater Consequence occur'd in *France*. Cardinal *Richelieu*, whose

whose favour augmented more, and more notwithstanding the hatred of his Enemies, inclin'd the King to Succour Powerfully the Duke of *Mantons* upon the point of being oppress'd. But the *Spaniards* to divert this Blow, induc'd the Duke of *Orleans*, with whom they kept Correspondence, to retire into *Lorraine*, where the Duke, a great lover of Novelties, afforded him a Retreat. Tho' such a juncture was capable of laying by all other thoughts, the Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who suitably as Difficulties augmented, perceiv'd his Courage to encrease, after having pacify'd the best he cou'd Domestick troubles, procur'd from the King the Quality of *Generalissimo* in *Italy*, and with a Flourishing Army march'd away towards *Savoy*; For in the occasion that then offer'd it self, the first thing to be done was to see if the Duke of *Savoy* wou'd keep to the late Treaty, and conformably to what had been resolv'd on, joyn his Troups to those of the King, or if he would take the Party of his Enemies. The Duke of *Savoy* upon the first Proposals made him of this matter, sought out Evasions and Pretexs to avoid declaring himself; one while excusing the Emperour and *Spaniards* for what they had done, and another making semblance of blaming them, contriving thus to gain time. But the Cardinal as Crafty as He, not contenting himself with these put-offs, press'd him so hard to say what he would stick to, that he was at length oblig'd to promise Provisions for the Army, and to joyn Troups, in case the Peace then in Discourse, prov'd difficult to conclude. But he no sooner fancy'd he had diverted the Storm, but that forgetting his Promises, he not only deny'd Provisions, but also kept upon the Borders of the Army, to take his advantages on't, if occasion serv'd. The Cardinal *de Richelieu* finding there was no trust-



ing him, had a Design to surprize him at *Rivoli*, a House of Pleasure, whither he was gone to take the Diversion of Hunting : but the Duke being advertiz'd of it, as it is believ'd, by the Duke of *Montmorency*, had time to scape to *Turin* with the Prince his Son. The Cardinal having miss'd his Aim, declar'd openly against him, and without any more ceremony laid all his Territories Wast ; and after this making a show as if he would besiege *Turin*, he oblig'd him to put the better part of his Forces into that Town. But having made that feint, only the better to Compass his Designs upon *Pignerol*, he laid Siege to that Place, and took the Town in one Days time ; Insomuch that nothing now stood out but the Cittadel. The Cittadel quickly follow'd the Town's Destiny, & the Cardinal being become Master of it, he Employ'd his Troups in the Conquest of the Places that are in the Marquisate of *Saluces*. The Duke of *Savoy* who had Secret Intelligences with the *Spaniards*, having demanded Succours of them in so pressing an Occasion, they sent him Troups and Money, and while he made head against the Cardinal, they laid Siege to *Casal*. *Spinola*, Commanding their Troups as I have already said, detach'd his Son, to attack *Pont-desure* which *Thoiras* had Fortify'd, and made himself Master of it, almost at the same time the *Imperialists* found the means to Enter *Mantona*, Surrendred to them by Treachery. Of all the Dominions of the Duke of *Mantona*, he had only *Casal* left ; nay, and that so shut-up by *Spinola*, that there was no likelihood of its being able to hold out long. The Garrison wanted Provisions, and no means could be contriv'd how to get any In. This Extremity having induc'd the King to pass himself into *Italy*, he put his Kingdom into the Best Order and Posture he cou'd, and having left an Army under

der the Duke of *Orleans* to defend the *Campagne*, he made his Resentment fall upon the Duke of *Savoy*, to whose Infidelity he attributed all these Disorders. Being entred his Countrey, he in a few days subdu'd all *Savoy*, saving *Montmelian*, at which he thought it not convenient to stop. These good Successes gave still more Courage to the Garrison of *Cazal* who defended themselves with much Bravery, and hoping to be quickly Relieved, *Thoiras* found it no difficult matter to make 'em support patiently, Famine, and other Inconveniences of a long Siege. In the mean while the *Spaniards* being startl'd at these Conquests, thinking to do much, by gaining of time, they amuz'd the King with some Overtures of Peace; and the King relying on them return'd to the Queen at *Grenoble*. But they no sooner saw him at a Distance, but that they press'd *Cazal* more then ever; Insomuch that it was reduc'd to Extremity. The King dispatcht forthwith away the Marechal de *Schomberg* with the Duke of *Montmorency* to march into those Parts; and the Duke of *Montmorency* meeting with the Prince of *Piemont* near *Veillaine*, deliver'd him Battle, and utterly defeated him. His Victory was follow'd with the taking of *Veillaine*, *Salluces*, *Villa-Franca*, *Pontrallier*, and with the Desolation of *Piemont*. *Turin* still upheld the Duke's tottering Fortune; but his Troups having been beaten in endeavouring to Defend the Passage of the *Po*, in all likelihood the Rest of his Dominions were going to fall into his Enemies hands, if not hindred by two things; One, the Pestilence, beginning to make Great Havock in Our Troups; Other, his Death, which brought a great Change; for his Son not succeeding to his Passions as he did to his Dominions, instead of resolving upon Continuing the War, manifested so much inclination to

Peace, that he Peremptorily declar'd his meaning was to remain Neuter. After this thinking that another Declaration wou'd still advance this work, he promis'd to employ his Arms against that Party as shou'd refuse to make Peace, so as this wrought a Truce to be made between the *Spaniards* and Us, by which *Cazal* was promis'd to be deliver'd to them in a certain time, in case of Non-Relief, and they bound themselves on their side to furnish the Garrison with victuals, of which it had extreme need. All the Parties believ'd they had got by this Treaty, for the *Spaniards* imagin'd they had been sufficiently Cunning in having been able to hinder our Troups from passing on; Wee pretended to have sav'd *Cazal*, by delivering it from Famine, and gaining time to relieve it. Be it as it will, *Mazarine* who had a hand in this Treaty, and came to the King as far as *Grenoble* on this Account, thereby acquir'd great Honour, and this Beginning of good fortune laid the foundation of his future Advancement. *Spinola*, having likewise been employ'd in this Treaty, did not gain the like Repute: On the contrary the *Spaniards* having complain'd of his easiness in making this Cessation, they began to misuse him, and their ill treatment being so much the more sensible to him in that he had rendred them great Services, the grief of it Kill'd him. In the mean while as greater Preparations than ever were making on the one side, to Succour *Cazal*, on the other to Attack it, News came that *Monsieur de Lion*, and Father *Joseph*, a *Capuchin*, the Cardinals Confident, residing at *Ratisbon* on the King's behalf, had made a Treaty by which the Emperour was to give the Duke of *Montana* the Investiture of his Dominions. This Treaty in all Probability must make all the Parties concern'd lay down their Arms, but none being content,

tent, because it contain'd several matters which each side interpreted to it's Disadvantage, this notwithstanding the Armies march'd. The Marquis de *St. Croix* succeeding *Spinola* in the Command of the Troups of *Spain*, and being already come before *Cazal*, kept close and cover'd in his *Lines*, hoping the scituation of his Camp wou'd hinder us from passing the River of *Gatola* between him and *Us*; but knowing we had Cross'd it, a terrour was spread among his Forces, and *Mazarine*, being there as a Sub-delegate of the Pope's Nuncio, taking that time to make New Propositions, Both Parties ceas'd Hostilities, 'till they had seen the Result of his Negotiation. Fortune, that had been already propitious to him, did not abandon him in this occasion, for after sundry goings and comings, he prevail'd with both Parties not to proceed further. The Principal Conditions of this Treaty were, that we should remit *Cazal* into the hands of an *Italian* Garrison Subject to the Duke of *Mantona*: But having caus'd some *French* to enter Disguis'd into the Place, the Hostilities were just a going to be renew'd, had not *Mazarine* interpos'd again. Nothing more now remain'd than the restoring to the Duke of *Savoy* the Places taken from his Father; but the Cardinal de *Richelieu* being minded to retain *Pignerol*, the taking of which was his Atchievement, he wou'd never listen to any such-Proposals as were contrary to what he intended.

In the mean while new Troubles arose in *France*, and gradually as the Cardinals Repute encreas'd among Strangers, his Enemies endeavour'd to debase him in *France*. The Duke of *Orleans*, who serv'd for an Implement to all the Male-contentments, who were hewing at, and undermining the Cardinal's fortune, Vext that a Certain Person had

been confin'd to *Vincennes*, took thence Occasion to withdraw from Court, and went to *Orleans*. The King no sooner knew of his Departure, but being Inform'd at the same time of the Correspondence he had with Foreigners, he resolv'd to prevent the Inconveniencies that might happen if he left the Kingdom; For which Reason he sent Men after him to Seize on his Person, and went himself to Second those Men in Case it Chanc'd to break forth into a Rebellion. The Duke of *Orleans* knowing with what Design the King his Brother was departed *Paris*, left *Orleans*, and fled into *Burgundy*, where the Duke de *Bellegarde*, Governour of the Province had promis'd him a Retreat. But having found all things there ill dispos'd for Maintaining a War, and besides several Persons who had promis'd to follow his fortune, having fail'd him, he past on into *la Franche-Comté*, and from thence into *Lorrain*, whither he was call'd by New-Amours. The Duke of *Lorrain*, of as Turbulent a Temper at least as the Duke of *Orleans*, receiv'd him with Open Arms, and to make sure of him, gave him his Sister *Marguerite* in Marriage, a Princess of Extraordinary Beauty, but of somewhat an Odd sort of Humour. The King suspecting the Queen-Mother not only to have lent a hand to all these Transactions, but to have been the Cause of 'em by her Ill Councils, commanded Her to retire to *Compeigne*, and put Her under Guards. The Queen-Mother provok'd at this Ill-treatment, only watcht to deceive their Vigilance, to make her Escape to *Capelle*, where she had Intelligence with the Governour; Cardinal *Richelieu* being her greatest Enemy, and willing to have her far enough off, tho' he ow'd to her the Obligation of his fortune, commanded the Guards to allow Her the Occasion of making

making her Escape: But himself Securing *Capelle*, that Princess found no Harbour there; so as not knowing where to put her Head, she entred the *Low-Countreys*, where the Governess receiv'd her neither more por less than if she had been Queen of *Spain*. Cardinal *Richelieu* was overjoy'd to see her in the *Spaniards* hands, for after this the King cou'd no longer doubt of her holding correspondence with them, and as he hated them mortally, his Aversion for his Mother became still so much the Stronger. However still more and more to heighten this Aversion of his, the Cardinal dispatcht away several Courriers to desire her to return, but as he Expected that the more she saw her self Courted, the more Stiff and Refractory she wou'd be against all Compliance; the Courriers only brought back Refusals, with arrogant Propositions, so as this fail'd not of producing the effect he expected. In the mean while all the Resentment fell upon the Duke of *Lorraine*. The King having assembled a Powerfull Army put himself upon the March to go attack *Nancy*, while, on another side the *Mareschal de la Force* laid Siege to *Moyenvic*. *Moyenvic* made no great Resistance for a Place so strong; but the King was not so Quick, as being willing to give the Duke of *Lorraine* time to prevent his Anger. This Duke had foreseen this Storm, and Endeavour'd to draw *Madam de Bouillon* into his Party, who in the Absence of her Children had full Pow'r in *Sedan*, but this Princess in no wise minded to be concern'd in those sorts of Affairs, had refus'd his Offers; so as that the Duke having no hopes left, save in Submission, he came in Person to the King. After he had Excus'd himself in the business of the Duke of *Orlean's* Match, and promis'd to abandon him, there remain'd nothing  
more

more than his giving of Sureties for his keeping his Word, and the King being contented with those he offer'd him, he retreated with his Forces out of *Lorrain*. But the Duke forgetting his Promises, accordingly as he saw the King drawn farther off, he never troubled his head farther about performing the Treaty, so that bating, that the Duke of *Orleans* was gone to *Bruxelles*, there was not any Change in his Conduct. The King being well inform'd of his Designs, had hardly had time to refresh himself, when he must think of going to Chastize him anew. But during these Occurrences, *Madam de Bouillon* had a Secret advice that he might possibly turn his Arms against her, upon his knowing the Proposals made her by the Duke of *Lorrain*. At the same time, she sent a Courier to her Children to impart to them this News: But *Mr. de Bouillon* not thinking the Intimation did Challenge any Credit, left *M. de Turenne* the Liberty of going to reincourage her in this Occasion. The Viscount de *Turenne* who desired nothing more than to get near the Court, was far enough from making any longer stay in *Holland*, and after having taken his Leave of the Prince of *Orange* and his Friends, he departed for *Sedan*, where he was no sooner arriv'd, than that he went to assure the King of his Obedience, and of *Madame* his Mothers. The King receiv'd him very obligingly, and having declar'd to him, he never doubted of the fidelity of his House, he sent him back to *Sedan*, where the *Mareschal de la Force*, since his Father-in-Law, arriv'd some time after on the King's behalf, to swear *Madam de Bouillon* in the Present Conjunctions, and he who commanded in her sons Absence, to remain Loyal to him. An Act was drawn-up in due form, by which the *Mareschal* oblig'd him-

self

self in the Kings Name to take their House into  
 His Protection. Which had been already once done  
 since the King came to the Crown, and once a-  
 fore under the Reign of *Henry the Great* of happy  
 Memory. In the mean while the King was Entred  
*Lorrain*, where after having taken *Pont-a-Mousson*,  
*Barleduc*, and *St. Mich*, he approach'd *Nancy*. The  
 Duke, whose Forces were not capable of facing  
 these of so Powerfull a King, fearing that with the  
 Loss of his Capital City, he might run the risque of  
 losing his Dominions, Chose to go in Person to  
 the King, to whom he had already sent several  
 times the Prince his Brother. The King receiv'd  
 him very coolly, and the Cardinal whom he was  
 also oblig'd to see in this Occasion, made him yet,  
 a worse Entertainment; but this Prince pretending  
 not to mind it, in his Present Circumstances, entred  
 into Negotiation with this Minister, and cou'd not  
 free himself out of this Business, but by abandon-  
 ing the Propriety of *Clermont*, and Suffering Garri-  
 sons to be put into *Stenay* and *Jamez*. The Viscount  
*de Turenne* being come into the Kings Army, as he  
 had giv'n a thousand Proofs of his Courage, he  
 receiv'd from this Prince and his Minister all man-  
 ner of Good Treatments; and the latter, a man  
 well known in all things, finding him to be a  
 person Excellently well qualify'd, was willing to  
 oblige him to the Kings Service, and so procur'd him  
 a Regiment of foot. The Viscount *de Turenne* being  
 highly Satisfy'd with the manner of his Reception  
 at Court, long'd only for Occasions to Signalize  
 himself, that he might be able to give proofs of his  
 Acknowledgement. In the mean while as the Eyes  
 of all People, were upon his Merit, and that his  
 Birth besides render'd him Considerable, he was  
 quickly courted by those who aim'd at Embroiling  
 the



the State as an Instrument capable of making them Succeed in their Design. But this Prince too much hated their Cabals, and their Rebellion, to suffer himself to be Seduced : He had over and above, so strong an Aversion to the *Spaniards*, who had a hand in all these Intrigues, that he was their most Mortal Enemy. He had been train'd-up in this Aversion by the Duke of *Bouillon*, his Father, and after having suck'd it, as I may say, with his Milk, he had observ'd from the time he had any knowledge of things, the Persecutions they had brought upon those of his Religion : For they, it was, who to divert the King's Arms from off their own Territories had fomented the Wars made upon them ; and Cardinal *Richelieu* had too much Wit to be so grossly deceiv'd ; yet considering the State of things at his entring upon his Ministry, he did not dare to interrupt them, out of fear of the Queen-Mother who would have it so ; and least it shou'd be said, that he, who as a Bishop had more strict obligations to destroy the *Hughenots*, had sav'd them, being so near their Ruine. Yet he let no occasion scape of making known to the King the little Faith they shew'd in all things ; and principally at the Siege of *Rochelle* ; for after having promis'd to send Ships, they deferr'd from day to day the Execution of their Promises, and when they were at length oblig'd to do it, they arriv'd in so ill a Condition, that they were wholly unserviceable.

The Opinion which the Viscount *de Turenne* had of them was known to the Cardinal, and it pleas'd him infinitely ; for whether it proceeded from the Zeal he had for his Religion, or from an Antipathy natural to him, or the one, or the other, was still advantageous to the service of the Crown. In the mean while a man may say that the  
 Hatred

Hatred he bore them was rather founded upon the Knowledge he had of their Policy, than upon any Natural aversion; for he cou'd not endure that under the pretext of Religion, they shou'd seek to Cover the Invasion they design'd to make upon all the Earth. The Emperour *Ferdinand* follow'd the same Maxims; and under the same Pretext had so far depress'd the *German* Princes, that it was no longer in their Power to prevent blindly following his Wills. It was only the King of *Denmark* now that retain'd some shadow of Liberty; but after having been defeated in several Incounters, he was ready to fall as well as others. The Protestant Party thus lying a Gasping, put the rest of it's hopes in *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, a Prince who had already acquired much Reputation in the Wars he had sustain'd against the King of *Poland*. *Gustavus* seeing himself call'd by those of his own Persuasion, resolv'd not to abandon them, and having made Peace with his Enemy, he entered *Pomerania* where he had Secret Correspondencies. However the Duke of *Pomerania* to prevent the seeming to have call'd him, appear'd in Arms upon the Frontier of his Territory; But after some slight Losses feigning to undergoe the Victour's Law, he deliver'd-up his Towns, and joyn'd himself to the King of *Sweden*. This irruption was usher'd-in by divers things that might well make the Emperour fear some Change in his then flourishing condition: For the Duke of *Bavaria*, who seem'd most Wedded to his Fortune, had been the first to induce him to depose *Wallenstein*, a Famous Captain, by whose means he had atchiev'd all his Conquests. After this they had also constrain'd him to Disarm, and *Gustavus* his Army was made-up out of the Ruines of the Emperour's too, insomuch that he had for Enemies those who a little afore were

were in his Pay, and fought under his Ensigns, but Enemies so much the more irreconcilable, that after having pass'd, some Ten Years, others Fifteen, others Twenty, and some more in his Service, they had been Discard'd for their Reward. The Duke of *Bavaria*, who had plaid him these unlucky turns, had likewise sent secretly into *France* to hamper him in new troubles, and Cardinal *Richelieu*, having a great Soul, & contriving how to render the Kingdom more flourishing, let not this occasion slip without improving it to Advantage: He had besides Correspondence with the King of *Sueden*, and had assur'd him of a Hundred Thousand Francs a Month to help him to make War. Nevertheless as he had a Wit that fore-law things at a distance, instead of causing the King to ratify the Treaty of *Raisbonne*, of which I have spoken afore, he had brought so many Difficulties in it, that it had been restrain'd to the Affairs of *Italy*, so as that he had an open field to enter into War when he pleas'd. The Viscount de *Turenne*, fill'd with Piety, was over-joy'd to see such puissant Preparations to destroy the Enemies of his Religion, and cou'd not sufficiently admire the Cardinals Conduct, who in the midst of the thorny Affairs rais'd him in the Kingdom, had the faculty to provide against all with so much judgment. He desired nothing more than to have his Regiment sent that way, and this was the Cardinal's Design, of whom he had begg'd this favour with much Importunity. But dayly was this Minister haunted with new troubles, and in the number of the Enemies that arose up against him, he cou'd not do all he wou'd, and was sufficiently happy in doing one thing after another. The *Spaniards* who had the Queen Mother and the Duke of *Orleans* in their hands to thwart his Designs, excited them to cause their Cre-  
tures

tures to rise, of whom they boasted the having a great number at their arrival at *Brussels*. The Queen Mother only breathing Revenge, wou'd have had the Duke of *Orleans* without more ado to enter the Kingdom in the head of a *Spanish* Army; but the *Spaniards* wou'd not proceed to a Declaration till they saw on what fund they were to make this Diversion. The Duke of *Orleans* on his side more irascible than ever, and weary of *Brussels*, listen'd to the Proposition which the King his Brother caus'd privately to be sent unto him: but as the *Spaniards* knew the byas of his mind, they took care he shou'd not give them the slip, and in the mean while endeavour'd to fortify him in his first Designs. Yet the only Obstacle that barr'd his Return to *France*, was his Marriage with the Princess of *Lorraine*, which the King cou'd not resolve to approve of, and which he on his side wou'd not break. Thus being Both wedded to their Sentiments, all hopes of Accommodation were taken away, and the Duke of *Orleans* tamper'd with the Duke of *Montmorency* Governor of *Languedoc* to support a Rebellion.

The King of *Sueden*, in the mean while, had not only been happy in the beginning of his Enterprize, but the Prosecution of it too, had been so Glorious to him, that he had Conquer'd whole Provinces in as little time, as it would have taken to pass them over. After having Re-establish'd the Dukes of *Meklembourg* in their Territories, deliver'd the *Baltique* Sea from the Servitude of the *Imperialists*, beaten four or five of their Armies, Subdu'd the Strongest Fastnesses of *Germany*, Spread Consternation among his Enemies, and given jealousy to his Allies, he advanc'd towards the *Rhine*, where he render'd himself Master of the City of *Bonnay*. Cardinal *Richelieu*, either jealous of his Fame

Fame, or fearing perhaps he might Improve the Opportunities offer'd him by Fortune to the Destruction of his Friends as well as Enemies, knew not how to stop the Course of so many Conquests; for to declare openly against him, was a Dangerous Design, and besides had been wanting fidelity to his Ally; and to suffer him to advance much farther, might allure him to the Conquest of *France*, the Goodness of whose Soil, and the Deliciousness of whose Climate being a Great Charm to a Conquerour. For the finding out a Medium to all this, he endeavour'd to prevail with the Ecclesiastique Electors to depart from the Alliance they had with the Emperour, that so under the Pretext of Neutrality the King of *Sueden* might be oblig'd to turn his Arms elsewhere. But the King of *Sueden* seeing clearly into his Intentions, redoubl'd his Hostilities before the Treaty cou'd be Concluded, and put those Princes into so great a Despondency, that the Electour of *Trier* only threw himself into the Cardinals Arms. For a Token of the Dependency he meant to have for him thenceforward, he put into our hands the sortress of *Hermesheim*. But before our Army was Arriv'd to take Possession of *Coblentz*, and other the Places of his Territories, the *Spaniards* perceiving it to be a way to give the *Suedes* an Inlet into the Low-Countreys, forestall'd Us, and Clapt a Garrison into that Town. The Marechal D'Effiat, who was advanc'd, with Intention to Seize on't, but had trifled away much time about *Strasbourg*, from whence he pretended to be furnish'd with Provisions, having learnt this News, fell Sick of Grief, or perhaps by an accident meerly Natural; be it as it will, he Dying some days after, the Marechal d'Estree was sent in his Room, who laid Siege to *Trier*. This Place,

Place more considerable for it's Scituation than it's Strength, made but a Sorry Resistance: Yet the *Viscount de Turenne*, then in the Army, Scap'd not running much Danger, having receiv'd a Bullet in his Armour. *Coblentz*, Clutch'd by the *Spaniards*, Surrendred in like manner to the *Suedes*, and they put it in our hands, Conformably to a Treaty we had newly made with them, by the Ministry of the Marquis de *Brissé*,

These Novelties took away all doubt of a War with the *Spaniard*, joyn'd to this, that they had formally declar'd themselves for the Queen Mother, and the Duke of *Orleans*, whom they had furnished with Troups. But the *Hollanders* having in that time besieg'd *Mastricht*, they were constrain'd to take them back and employ them on that side. *Mastricht* was so important a place, that they resolv'd to use their utmost efforts for it's conservation: But their Forces not being sufficient for so great a Design, they had recourse to *Papenheim*, Commanding a flying Camp for the Emperour's Service. *Papenheim* after having pass'd several Rivers, across a thousand Dangers, came at length upon the *Meuse*, where he was joyn'd by the *Spaniards*; But having perceiv'd the Prince of *Orange's* Camp to be so well fortify'd, that he wou'd have much the Disadvantage in coming to Blows, he caus'd several Skirmishes to be made, so to draw him out of his Lines. The Prince of *Orange* resolving to maintain his Advantage, let him spend his flame, and rested satisfy'd with opposing him with some small Troup; of Horse that risqued nothing; So as *Papenheim* perceiving he only lost time, retir'd without making any further Attempt. Thus the City of *Mastricht* fell into the States hands who conferr'd the Government of it on the Duke of *Bouillon*. This Unfortunate

fortunate Success did not paule the Duke of Orleans in his sinister Designs, but not being able to get from the *Spaniards* the Succours he expected, nor from the Dukes of *Bellegarde* and *Lorrain*, he march'd away for *Languedoc*, where the Duke of *Montmorency* had caus'd all the Towns to rise. In his Passage he endeavour'd to draw-in *Dijon* to his Party; but that Town refusing so much as to receive his Letters, he reveng'd himself upon the Houses in it's Neighbourhood, which were plunder'd by his Soldiers. In fine after having in vain endeavour'd to urge into an Insurrection divers of those Provinces, thro' which he directed his way, he came into *Languedoc*, and was receiv'd by the Duke of *Montmorency*, nor more nor less than if he had been the King himself: For to attract the more people into the Rebellion, it was requisite to set up some vain Image of Royalty, to which those People, as well as the rest of the *French*, have a strong Inclination. However he still retain'd the Authority in his own hands, and this Prince only serv'd him for a Cloak to cover his Ambition. As soon as this Rebellion broke out, there's no describing the sensible Affliction it gave the Viscount *de Turenne*. Besides his being the Duke of *Montmorency's* Relation, he had for him a peculiar esteem, and vex'd to see him sully so many noble Actions by one so contrary to the former, he equally apprehended both the Success of his Enterprize and the Chastizement. The Criminal was Dear to him, but on another side his fault was Great, and requir'd the King's revenging his Authority, wounded by so Enormous an attempt; so that notwithstanding all his great Concern for his Safety, he wou'd have Condemn'd him himself, had he been his Judge. In the mean while the King, still in *Lorrain*, had detach'd the *Mareschal de Schomberg* to suppress

suppress this Rebellion, and the Duke of *Montmorency* having notice of his being already entred *Languedock* with full Design to fight him, he went to meet him, so to spare him half the way. A River was there between the two Armies, and the Duke of *Montmorency* having pass'd it rather as a Volunteer than a General, his temerity was attended with a speedy Repentance. Before his men cou'd come-in to his Assistance, dangerously was he wounded, but not losing Courage, he pierc'd thro' to the last rank of a Battalion of the Guards, and being only follow'd by a few of his men, among whom were the Count of *Moret*, the Kings Natural Brother, with the Counts of *Rieux* and *de la Fenillade*, he receiv'd several wounds more, and was at length taken fighting like a Lyon. As for those three Counts, they were kill'd upon the spot, and their Deaths hindred them from perishing by the hand of an Executioner, as undoubtedly they cou'd not have avoided, for they were no less culpable than the Duke of *Montmorency*, and especially the Count *de la Fenillade*, who had occasion'd the Insurrection of all the Nobles of *Limosin* to Conduct 'em to the Succours of the Duke of *Orleans*. If the Duke of *Montmorency's* Rebellion had sensibly griev'd the Viscount *de Turenne*, his Imprisonment overwhelm'd him with Affliction; for he thence fore-saw fatal Consequences; and principally when he made Reflexion upon the jealousy born him by Cardinal *Richelieu*: For out of the Desire this Minister had of Promoting his House, he endeavour'd to debase all others, and especially those that had been in Lustre since the Establishment of the Monarchy, and which would ever top his, whatever Settlement he might procure it. And indeed without Vouchsafing to hear those who spoke in the Dukes Behalf, he refer'd all the Interceders to the King,



King, whom he had allready dispos'd to severity; and now the Man wont to be intermeddling in all, e'vn the least things, was very willing to be thought not to intermeddle in the least in this Occasion, so to reject upon the Prince, the Spite that might be conceiv'd at his justice. This however did not hinder several Persons from laying themselves at the Kings feet to obtain this Dukes Pardon: but shewing himself inexorable, Judges were Commissionated, who sentenc'd him to be beheaded. The Viscount *de Turenne*, whom nothing cou'd divert from his duty, without considering it to be in no wise, making his Court to the Cardinal, implor'd Mercy of the King for this Poor Lord: but the King having not Yielded to the Prayers of the Duke of *O'leans*, nor to those of the Prince of *Condé*, nor wou'd he hear his; so that the Sentence was Executed to the great Grief of all People. Thus dy'd *Henry of Montmorency* Peer and Marshal of *France*, at Thirty Seven years of Age, a Lord of a Comely Personage, Brother in Law of the First Prince of the Blood, and whose House had possess'd the first Offices of the Crown, but still more considerable by his Merit, then by that of his Ancestors; In fine illustrious in all his Life, Excepting it's last Action.

His Death did not appease the troubles of the Kingdom, The Duke of *O'leans* being Exasperated at his Execution, so much the more that *Bullion* had promis'd him his pardon from the King, withdrew anew into *Lorraine*, where he found the same Retreat, he had found some time afore. For the Duke of *Lorraine* as faithless as Ever, desired nothing better than to foment Broiles and Cumbustions, notwithstanding the losses he had suffer'd, hoping that if fortune was once adverse to the Cardinal, a time wou'd not only come for him to recover what he had lost, but

but likewise to make some Other Conquests. But the King not thinking fit to give him time to prepare for his Defence, departed immediately from *Paris*, and went and laid Siege to *Nancy*, where the Duke of *Orleans* was in no wise minded to Slay his Coming. The Regiment of *Turenne* was at first Commanded on this Expedition; but having receiv'd a Counter-order two Days after, this Prince, who had particularly pleas'd himself with the Expectation of signalizing himself in the Kings presence, march'd away for *Alsace*, whither Troups were sent against the Duke of *Feria*, there at that time with an Army of *Germans* and *Spaniards*. In the mean while a Great Vicissitude had happen'd in *Germany*. The King of *Sueden* after having reduc'd the Emperour to the bare Hereditary Provinces, forc'd the Duke of *Bavaria* out of his Capital City, and extended his Reputation ev'n beyond his hopes. At last fortune grown weary of favouring him, had terminated so many gallant Actions by his Death. The Emperour seeing himself as low as he had seen himself Exalted a little while afore; attributing so great a Change, to the fault he Committed in having divested *Wallenstein* of the Command of his Armies, and being resolv'd to restore it him, had Caus'd such advantageous Conditions to be offer'd him, that a man might say he had with him shar'd the Empire; for *Wallenstein* had the Power of making Peace and Warr, of disposing of Conquests, of the Booty, of Winter Quarters, and of all that Sovereigns are wont to relerve to themselves, for fear of giving too much Credit to their Generalls. *Wallenstein*, having thus on these Conditions taken the Command on him again, had no sooner caus'd his Drum to be Beat, than that flocking there was from all sides to list under him; for Martial Men knowing his Liberal humour,

and the Kindness he had for Souldiers, reckon'd it unworthy to dissolve in repose, while that he, they look'd on as their father, should Expose himself to hardships & Dangers. Thus he had quickly brought on foot a New Army, compos'd of *Veteran* Officers, and *Veteran* Souldiers; and tho' the Imperial Court had great faith in him, yet could it not refrain being surpriz'd at the Suddainness with which he had accomplisht so difficult a matter. Fortune that had ever favour'd this Captain, till such time as the Duke of *Bavaria* had depos'd him out of Jealousy, seem'd then to make him a Reparation for that Injury. For this Duke being distress'd by the King of *Sueden*, dispatcht to him divers Courriers, to intreat him, without remembring what was past, that he wou'd march to his Relief. But *Wallenstein* being very glad to Mortify him, contented himself with giving him fair Promises; and marching sometimes slowly, and sometimes stopping on purpose at Paultry Borroughs, he had the pleasure to see him reduc'd to such an Extremity, that he was already become a Fugitive, and just upon the Point of Emploring his Enemies Mercy. Thinking it then Glorious to Succour this Unhappy Prince, he turn'd his Arms against *Nurem-bourg*, expecting the King of *Sueden* to abandon *Bavaria* to run to the Defence of that Place. The *Bavarians* joyn'd the Troups of *Wallenstein*, and having render'd themselves still the more formidable by this Means, the King of *Sueden* March'd against him, with Design to give him Battle. The two Armies being but a League and half distant from one another, *Wallenstein* retrench'd himself in his Camp, and the King of *Sueden's* thoughts were only how to lure him thence to decide their Quarrel in one Day: But *Wallenstein* rather using the Skin than the Sword, stopp'd the fury of his Enemy; insomuch that the

the Two Armies remain'd some days gazing upon one another: All Peoples Eyes were in the mean time turn'd upon these Two Great Generals, to see on which side fortune would declare her self. But the King of *Sueden* thinking, that after so many Victories, it tended to his Prejudice to remain so long without any Performances, undertook to force his Camp, and gave the Orders Necessary for the Execution of that Design. The First Successes were answerable to his hopes: The *Bavarians*, whose Quarter he had attack'd, were forc'd after a Vigorous Defence. But just in the Nick when he thought he had won all, *Wallestein* with his own Troups ran to Succour his Men, and not only re-establish'd things by his Presence, but likewise made them Change face, so that the King of *Sueden*, after having left three Thousand Men on the Spot, was constrain'd to retreat. The Duke of *Bavaria* re-conquer'd his Dominions after this Advantage, and having put a Garrison into *Ratisbone*, the Empire that had groan'd so long, began to breath again. In the mean while, *Wallestein* being minded to be reveng'd on the Duke of *Saxony*, one of the King of *Sueden*'s Principal Buttresses, entred his Territories, through which he shot Terror and Consternation. The King of *Sueden* durst not oppose this Torrent before he had encreas'd his Army with some Succours, brought him by his Lieutenants here & there dispers'd for divers Conquests: But when he saw himself strong enough as not to be under any fear, he March'd against the Enemy, who had attack'd *Leipsik*, and was become Master of that Place before he could get up to it's Relief.

The Experience of the Commanders and the Valour of the Souldiers, render'd the two Armies almost Equal; and as Both sides were Cock-a-hoop

to fight, they came to *Blows* near *Lutzen*, a little Village of small renown before, but made famous by so great a Battle. The Fight began at Break of Day, and the Beginnings were favourable to *Gustavus*, who drove away the Enemies from Certain Ditches that Separated the two Armies, took Six of their Cannon, and turn'd 'em against 'em, which put 'em into Great disorder. However the *German* Cavalry being come up, before the *Suedish* could fill up their Ditches for their Passing, it drove away the Enemies in it's turn, retook four Canons, and seiz'd on the Posts the infantry had Newly lost. The *Germans* being now become fierce and haughty with this Success, pass'd then the Ditches, which hinder'd them from joyning the *Suedes*, and now no more Impediment intervening the Designs of either side, Both Parties fell in Pell-Mell with one another, Each demonstrating a Great Passion for Victory. The King of *Sueden* being in the Right Wing of his Army, and his Presence augmenting the Courage of his Men, routed all that stood in Opposition: but being minded to go from One Wing to the Other to see how matters went, he encounter'd *Picolomini*, in the Mid'st of the Way with Eight hundred Cuirassiers who stopp'd him when he least Expected it, for there was so great a fogg that day, that a Body saw not to a ten foot's Distance. The King endeavour'd to defeat this New Troup with the Regiment of *Finlanders* he was at the head of. But having by a Pistol-shot been wounded in the Arm, which put him to great pain, he retired to be dress'd; & in his Retreat receiv'd a Musket Bullet behind, which made him fall from off his Horse; He was at the same time trod under the Horses feet of those who pursu'd him, without being known by any Body; Insomuch that his Men, a little

little inform'd of his Destiny, as the Enemies continu'd the Combat with the same Resolution, and finish'd the Victory he had rough-drawn. However the Duke of *Weyman* knew his Horse that was running up and down, and had some Suspicion of the truth. But being cautious of showing it, they were all in an inconceivable joy for the Success of that Day, when the King of *Suedens* Death Chang'd their Contentment into a Sadness beyond Expression.

This Battle lasted from Break of Day, till ten a Clock at Night, but not so furious as it had been in the day time, for the fogg having continu'd all the Day long augmented towards the Evening, Each being afraid of attacking his Companion, instead of the Enemy, and thus the *German* Infantry Scap'd, which otherwise it would have been Easy to have defeated. *Papenheim* was kill'd in fighting generously. But not a Man distinguish'd himself more than *Picolomini*, who having seen all those of his side abandon their Ranks, he with his Regiment only stood firm, tho' he had already receiv'd several Wounds. *Wallestein* who valu'd virtue, and not wont to leave it without Reward, sent him a Present of twenty thousand Crowns, and gave him besides the Praises due to his Merit.

Tho' the *Imperialists* had lost many Men in this Battle, with some Captains of Renown, they thought they had gain'd much by the Death of him who had vow'd the ruine of the Empire, and had sped so well in that Design. *Wallestein* retreated to *Leipsik*, but not believing himself there in Safety, he pass'd on into *Bohemia* where he labour'd to repair the wrecks of his Army. His flight having afforded the *Suedes* the means to disperse, for the Embracing the more Conquests, they render'd themselves Masters of severall Considerable Posts; and the Duke of *Saxony*,  
still

still in their Alliance, had time to recover *Leipsik*. In the mean while the News of his Death being come into *France*, was receiv'd with more Satisfaction than would have been Expected, for his Conquests began to Create a Jealousy; for this Cause did the Cardinal de *Richelieu*'s Enemies publish that he had been kill'd by his Contrivance and Appointment, and that he had posted a Man on purpose to Commit such an Enormous Crime: but 'tis not just to give Credence to so high an Imposition, and coming from so suspected a Place. In the mean while, the Emperour was not content with *Wallestein*'s Retreat, who if he had been minded might have improv'd the advantages offer'd him by the Death of so considerable an Enemy, but as he had no inclination to have the War so suddenly ended, he was fall'n into *Silesia*, under the Pretence of driving thence some of the Duke of *Saxony*'s Troups, committing Disorders in that Province. This Conduct made the Emperour fear he had put the Command of his Armies into the hands of a Man that meant to abuse the trust; and this suspicion having strongly possess'd his mind, was still augmented by the Enemies of *Wallestein*, whom they saw Exalted above them, and in a posture of wreaking his revenge whenever he went about it. The taking of *Ratisbone* by the Duke of *Weymar*, who since the King of *Sueden*'s Death had obtain'd the Command of his Army; Exasperated the Emperour the more against him; and having sent him positive orders to march to the Succours of the Duke of *Bavaria*, who became thereby Expos'd to great Distresses, it was the General Doubt whether he would obey or not. And indeed, instead of Executing punctually what had been order'd him, He made his Troups return into *Bohemia*,  
 nay,

nay, and Garrison'd some of them in *Austria*, under  
 Colour that the Enemies might come on that side.  
 But the Insolence of the Souldiers, to whom he  
 gave full License, quickly render'd the Remedy  
 more insupportable than the Mischief; Insomuch  
 that there began to be a General Murmuring against  
 him. But he little minded all these Complaints,  
 His Army might at his beck go to *Vienna*, nay,  
 and the Emperour had fears inculcated into him,  
 that this General had some Designs upon his Per-  
 son. As it is a Crime sufficiently great in a Subject  
 to give matter of Apprehension to a Sovereign,  
 the Emperour vow'd his Destruction, joyn'd to this,  
 that he had newly been inform'd that he had made  
 a Secret Treaty with *Arnheim*, General of the Troups  
 of *Saxony*, by which they had promis'd mutual  
 Assistance to one another, to re-establish the Son of  
 the Electour *Palatine*, newly Dead of Grief for  
 what had befall'n the King of *Sweden*, and at length  
 to compel the Emperour to make a disadvantageous  
 Peace, and to Banish the *Jesuites* out of all the  
 Empire. The *Spaniards* were his most powerfull  
 Enemies, Because he had also agreed by the same  
 Treaty, that they should be driven out of *Germany*.  
 Thus the Count of *Ognate*, their Embassadour to  
 the Emperour, insinuated into this Prince to dis-  
 patch *Wallestein* at any Rate, and with the soonest  
 to Employ Steel, or Poyson for that Purpose.  
 The one seem'd difficult, as being passionately be-  
 lov'd by his Souldiers, and the other was no less  
 so, being Equally cherish'd by his Servants, to  
 whom he was ever most Benevolent. In the mean  
 while, the Imperial Court had *Galas* and *Picola-  
mini* then in the Army, sifted, but they after having  
 refus'd to take upon them this Crime, they offer'd  
 however to Separate themselves from him, and carry  
 along



along with them part of the Tronps, over whom they had a great Ascendant. The thing was executed according to Promise, and *Wallestein* fearing the being abandon'd by still a greater Number, retreated to *Egra*, from whence he dispatcht his Greatest Confidants to the Duke of *Weymar*, with Great Promises if he wou'd assist him: But the Emperour hast'ning to prevent his Despair, whose effects might be Extremely fatall, gain'd Count *Lesley*, Captain of his Guards, with Colonel *Butler*, & *Gordon*; and these having invited *Torsica* & *Lislo* to Dinner, the one *Wallestein's* Brother in Law, and the Other his Intimate Friend, and who cou'd Both Oppose their Designs, they began the Scene with these, whom they Assassinated, after having pretended a Quarrel with them in drinking: From thence they went to *Wallestein's* Apartment, who upon the first noise ran to the Window to call for help: But his Guards in the Hall, having quickly been dispatcht, and his Chamber Door broak open, he was kill'd with Halibards, but not without having made a Brave Defence, and layd several dead at his feet. After this manner dy'd *Albert Wallestein*, Who after having render'd the Empire Flourishing, and been depos'd out of jealousy, had had the Pleasure to see his Enemies so confounded, that they were reduc'd to have recourse to him; who sav'd the Empire when just upon the point of falling, but having conceiv'd Criminal Designs, was at last treated as he merited. Though he was of Eminent Extraction, yet born to a very scanty Estate, but his Courage Supplying this Defect, he found means to acquire such immense Riches, that he several times brought Armies on foot at his own Cost, built Stately Palaces; in fine, Equall'd the Greatest Princes, whether for the Number of Domesticks, for the Sumptuousness of Moveables

Movables, for the Delicacy of the Table, or for the Beauty of his Stable. The next day after his Death, Duke *Albert Francis* of Saxony, whom the Duke of *Weymer* sent to agree with him the Conditions under which they were to make War upon the Emperour, was Seiz'd on without having had notice of what Occurr'd.

Such Great Mutations cou'd not happen in the Empire without Occasioning it new Losses. Cardinal *Richelieu* having had correspondence with *Wallestein*, and having the faculty to improve all things to advantage, imagining some time wou'd be spent before the Emperour cou'd retrieve and settle his Authority, he had so prevail'd with the Duke of *Weymer*, as that he had made him besiege *Brisac*, while the *Rhingrave* with another Body of Troups had taken *Enfheim*, *Fribourg* and *Rhinfield*. Two Battails had also been fought against him, wherein he had had the Disadvantage, the one against the *Rhingrave* near *Tarn*, the other at *Lignitz* against General *Arnhem*. So many Great Successes Courted the Attention of all the World, and at the same time the Admiration: But they still waited to judge of the Event of Things by what should happen at the Siege of *Brisac*, which was to open to us the Gates of *Germany*, and furnish us with the means of joyning our selves to our Alleys. This only seem'd wanting to the Kings happyness, he having newly reduc'd the Duke of *Lorraine* to Reason, and constrain'd him to put his Metropolis into his hands, for he cou'd take no other Assurance of a Prince who had fail'd him so often in his word. In the mean while, tho' the Viscount *De Turenne* took as much Interest as any Body in the Success of the Kings Arms, he cou'd not hear so many Great events discount of, without being affected with a strong Emulation, <sup>as</sup> it vext him to remain

remain a Spectatour of so many Great things, without having more share in them, and it seem'd to him as if all the Glory of 'em was reserv'd for Others, while he himself was only an eye-witness of 'em: For which Reason after *Alexander's* example, whose Courage he had, he was seen to shed tears several times at the recital of the Actions of so many Great Captains which the Age was full of: But as he admit'd not any one so much as the King of *Sweden*, he wept and bewail'd him no less than if he had been his Father; He said it to be great Pity, for so Great a King to dye in the flour of his Age, but that he shou'd nevertheless be content to Live much less than He, to acquire a like Reputation. He caus'd all his Glorious Exploits to be related to him; and cry'd, so great a Man ought to be immortal. An Officer unwittingly having told him, that he that had kill'd him, had done his Country a great kindness; and I (said he) believe he has done it a great injury, for never any other will fight with so much Courage for the Interest of the Religion. These Words seem'd very fine to those who took Notice in what sence he had said them, for by this they perceiv'd that he prefer'd Religion before all things; yet he did not love to dispute about it, for he knew that these sort of Disputes rather engender Division, than reunite Peoples minds: He said that People never brought the Necessary Disposition for such sort of matters, that it was rather amidst Wine and Debauchery, that points of Religion were canvast, than when they were fasting. Though he was very passionate, as I may say, for the Memory of the Great *Gustavus*, yet was he not wanting to bewail and Commiserate *Wallenstein's* Destiny, whose Services he fancy'd merited a Better treatment. I do not doubt, said he, but that he conceiv'd Criminal Designs against

against his Master, all his Actions are reputed as so many Crimes; and as things of this World may be diversly interpreted, it is not to be wonder'd that if his have been explain'd in ill part. In reality some there are that assert he did not fall into Cabals, till after the Particular Knowledge he had, that his Ruine was resolv'd on. Be it as it will, the Viscount *De Turenne* did not thus take his part, but thro' the Goodness of his Disposition, which did not suffer him to hear any Body spoke ill of, for as well for Others as for himself, he was enclin'd to judge favourably of all things. He said, a Worthy Man, that is a man of some Extraction, and had been brought up by Virtuous Parents, had ever an inclination prone to Good, that true it is, Ambition, as well as several other Vices often Corrupted Manners, but that it must be granted that the Ambitious ever retain some shadow of Virtue, and that before they throw themselves into the Precipice, they are hurry'd thither by several ill treatments. People generally delighted to hear him discourse in this manner, for tho' his Speech was not absolutely free, what he said was attended with more gracefullness in his Mouth, than in the Mouth of many others, gifted with a more easy utterance. And indeed they only consider'd the Sentiments without dwelling upon an Infirmary of Nature which serv'd only the more to Set off and Enhance his Merit; for he was so much the more Circumspect in speaking, and when he spoke they were as so many Sentences. I know not whether the kindness we have commonly for those, who have some conformity of humour with us, made him esteem those who talk'd little like himself, or whether this Esteem was naturall to him; but as much as he lov'd them, as much did he hate great Tatters. He said it to be impossible for great Lords of

of People to Obviate bolting frequent fooleries, and as there sometimes arose Quarrels among the Officers from over-much babbling, he thence took occasion to remonstrate to Others, that they could not with too much Precaution abstain from that infirmity: Yet he never address'd his Speech to any one that could be suspected of this Defect, but spoke indifferently to all People: Nay, and sometimes out of fear that some one of the Number might apply to himself what he said, he discours'd with the Wisest and most reserv'd, as if it had been to him he directed his Discourse. Yet he was very well content not to be allways applauded; for he was very willing to leave Each one at Liberty to speak his Opinion. For this reason he said commonly, that those who held their peace, when they had something good to say, were either Timorous, or Suspected others did not love Truth; that a Prince was no more Wedded then another to his Sentiments, and that provided he had good reasons giv'n, he wou'd be the first to own himself in the Wrong. This he found no harder to do then say, and he has been often seen to own some fault he had Committed, and known of, only by himself: But he delighted in declaring it, when it principally serv'd to Excuse some one who had done the like, for at least without perceiving a Person to be incorrigible, no better a Protectour was there than the Viscount. As soon as the Officers of his Regiment knew him, it is not to be said the esteem they had for him, not one of 'em Chanc'd in Company without speaking of him to his Advantage, and that he accounted himself happy in serving under so Virtuous a Prince. In the mean while, the whole Army perceiv'd the Improvements that were to be made in his Company, for an Officer of his Regiment was easily to be distinguished from another;

another; he had at least the air of Wisdome tho' he were not Wise, nor were they known to be Swearers, or Debaucht: If he cou'd not hinder them from frequenting Women, he hinder'd them at least from aspersing and speaking ill of them, and order'd matters so, as that they might not make them their main Employ, he made them observe how much the Kings Service was incompatible with theirs. He himself was the first to practise what he taught, for tho' he was Extreme Civil, yet was he an Enemy to Galantry, so far as to say, that the most Beautious Woman did not merit a Worthy Man's losing one Months time with her. Yet he was not ever of this Opinion, and *Madame la Marechale de Humieres* made him Change his Sentiment, as we shall shew in the Series of this History.

The King of *Sueden's* Death, tho' it had not yet brought any great Detriment to the Affairs of his Party, gave hopes, however, of great alterations to those who were in the Emperours Interests, and in this Confidence he dayly gain'd new Creatures. In effect, the Principal Leaders among the *Suedes* were divided among themselves, each having his peculiar aim, as having no longer a brave and vigorous King to enforce their Obedience. Not that the Duke of *Weymar* wanted any of the Qualities that are wont to attract Respect and give Admiration: but besides his not being born their Sovereign, many found fault that he had been preferr'd to the Duke of *Saxony*, whose Quality of Elector seem'd to merit some Preference. This Duke himself was exasperated at it, and since that time it's believ'd if the Emperour had made him some advantageous Proposals, he wou'd heartily have renounc'd all the Engagements he had to his Prejudice.

died. Be it as it will, the Duke of *Lorraine* being  
 flatter'd with such fair, alluring hopes, thought now  
 of nothing but of breaking his late Treaty; how-  
 ever as he had reason to fear least his Infidelity  
 might make him lose the propriety of his Estates,  
 which the King had already in his Power, he made  
 a Demission of them in favour of his Brother, a  
 Cardinal, and who laid aside the Purple to invest  
 himself with that Imaginary Title of Duke. The  
 King, to whom his most Private Designs were  
 known, far from approving of his Demission, shew'd  
 himself very much incens'd against him, and as  
 he only required a Pretext to seize on the rest of  
 his Dominions, consisting barely in the Fortresses de  
*Bitche* and de la *Mothé*, the Mareschal de la Force  
 had Order to besiege them both. The Army sepa-  
 rated into two, out of Obedience to the Kings  
 Commands, and while one part block'd-up la *Mothé*,  
 the other perform'd the Siege of *Bitche*, which after  
 a vigorous Defence was constrain'd to Capitulate.  
 This place having bin thus reduc'd to the Kings  
 Obedience, the Mareschal de la Force march'd against  
 la *Mothé*, then invested by divers Regiments, and  
 among others by that of the Viscount de *Turenne*.  
 All that Art and Nature can assemble for the strength  
 of a place was found in this, Rocks, proof against  
 Undermining, inaccessible ways, marvellous Out-  
 works; and above all this, a Garrison, whose fide-  
 lity had been try'd in sundry occasions. This was a  
 fair field for the Viscount de *Turenne*, who desir'd  
 nothing more than difficult and perillous occasions:  
 but the Mareschal de la Force not suffering him to  
 expose himself as often as he required, order'd him  
 to march only in his Rank, adding, there would  
 be business for 'em all. And indeed the Approaches  
 were not made without extreme Difficulty and Dan-  
 ger,

ger, the Canon was forc't to be rais'd in Battery by force of Arms, and when it came to opening the Trenches, they met with Rocks that evermore compell'd 'em to cease their Labour, and begin anew in another place. Besides the Beseiged seeing themselves upon an eminence, and our Troups as in a kind of Abyss, disdain'd firing,\*and only made use of Flints, that were of a hideous bigness, and which roll'd from top to Bottom, and made our Men open from the Right and Left to give them room, for nor more nor less than a torrent they over-turn'd all they met with, and when by chance they came to hit against a Rock, 'twas with so terrible a noise, that a body wou'd have said all was going to perish. A certain Monck, call'd *Enstache*, the Governours Brother, being in the Place, was one of those that tumbld down most, whether he was excited to a Vigorous Defence by his Brothers Interest, or that he had this in common with Monks of being ever more passionate than others: but having lost Courage by his Brother's Death, who was kill'd upon a Bastion, his ardour cool'd, and perhaps thro' the fear of a like Destiny, he abstain'd from a thing that was so little suitable with his Character. At length the *Mareschal de la Force* making use of this occasion to attack the Out-works, the Regiment of *Tonneins* Commanded by his Son march'd against the Enemies; but having been repuls'd with a considerable loss, the Viscount *de Turenne* took his stead, and carry'd a Bastion after a vigorous Defence. Most of the Officers that had not yet seen him fight, had their eyes turn'd upon him to see after what manner he wou'd behave himself in that Action: But tho' they had Admiration for his Bravery, they were no less at gaze to see with what cold Blood and Stoyedness his Conduct



duſt was ponder'd and regulated in the heat of the fray, for he had been ſeen all cover'd with fire give his Orders juſt the ſame as if he had been in a Camp or at a Review. The Mareſchal *de la Force* who had already paſſ'd a very advantageous judgement of his Virtue, wrote to the King after the Reduction of the Place, that this Prince had not a little contributed thereunto by his Valour, and on this account did he receive Complements from the Court, as well as from all the Army, All having already a moſt peculiar eſteem for his Perſon. The taking of the Baſtion having haſten'd that of the Place, the Duke of *Lorraine* had now nothing more remaining of the Dominions once in his poſſeſſion, nay and his Brother had likewise loſt his freedom, inſtead of recovering them, as they had both expected, by this feign'd Demiſſion whereof we have ſpoken afore. In the mean while, having found the means to deceive the vigilance of his Guards, and diſguiſing himſelf in a Gardiners Weed, he made his eſcape into *Italy*, where inſtead of the Purple he ought to carry thither, he conducted the Princeſs *Claude*, the Dutcheſs of *Lorraine's* Siſter, whom he had Marry'd, and who became the Companion of his Exile, and Miſfortune, almoſt at the ſame time ſhe became his Wife.

In the mean while, the *Sue-diſh* Affairs had had an ill turn, the King of *Hungary*, who after *Walleſtein's* Death had taken the Command of the Armies, not thinking it beſeeming his Rank and Reputation to remain without Performances, had Courted all Occaſions to Signalize himſelf, and out of the Deſire he had to give Battle, he deſir'd the Cardinal *Infant*, Governour of the Low Countreys upon the Death of *Iſabella*, to joyn with him, when requir'd ſo to do. Theſe Princes being of the ſame Houſe,  
and

and their Interests the same, after having promis'd mutually Succouring one another, march'd one against the *Hollanders*, the other against *Straubinguen*, which he Seiz'd on without any thing being done by the Adverse Party to put an Obstacle to his Design. This Conquest having render'd the Attacking of *Ratisbonne*, an Enterprize more easy, the King of *Hungary* march'd his Army thither, but doubting that the *Suedes* wou'd push harder for it's Relief than they had done at *Straubinguen*, he made havock of all the Territories on their Way, and hasten'd to Fortify his Camp. The Duke of *Weymar* perceiving the loss of *Ratisbonne*, would prove a great Blow to his Party, laid aside all sorts of Affairs for that, and being come into view of the King of *Hungarys*, they fought some slight Skirmishes, which decided nothing in favour of either side. Being drove away by Famine, he fancy'd that by making some Diversion, the King of *Hungary* would be constrain'd to follow him, so much the more, as that the Town was still in a Posture of making great Opposition. But the King of *Hungary* considering there to be but little Difference between Yeilding the Victory and Raising the Siege, let him take *Laudzutz*, where *Aldringher* who Commanded another Body for the Emperour, was Kill'd, in Endeavouring to Succour the Place: But the thing not having sped him better than the time afore, this Town fell into the hands of the King of *Hungary*, and it's loss was follow'd with that of *Donavert*, and with some other Places of less importance. The King of *Hungary* being flusht to greater things by those he had already atchiev'd, joyn'd then the Cardinal *Infant*, and they both march'd against the City of *Nortlingben*; the Duke of *Weymar* after his Example joyn'd *Horn*, a fam'd Captain,

Captain, who had learnt his Trade under the Great *Gustavus*, and resolv'd to fight them before the Siege was entirely form'd, and that the thing was not become more difficult : But the King of *Hungary* so much the more pressing his Attacks, that he knew the Succours ready to come, was already become Master of part of the Outworks, and endeavour'd to carry the Rest. When oblig'd to give some Respite to the Besieg'd, to provide for his own Defence ; And in effect, the Duke of *Weymar* without giving the least breathing to his Troups tho' weary'd with Marching Night and Day, was already preparing to attack him, having Experienc'd in several Encounters, that daring and Precipitate Actions have often a more happy Success than those that are undertaken with much wariness. Be it as it will, the Beginning of his Enterprize cou'd not be more Propitious ; he not only forc'd the Lines, but having also pierc'd thro' the Enemies Bataillons, he shot such a Consternation among those that were on the Guard of the Out-works, that they abandon'd a Half-Moon, which he Won with the Peril of their Life. But what fear robb'd 'em of, fear was not long without restoring them, for those who had the head of all, instead of entring the City, having amuz'd themselves, either thro' their own Imprudence, or thro' the fault of those who Conducted them, to throw themselves into that Half-Moon, they unawares set fire to some Barrels of Powder, which the Enemy had left there, and imagining it to be a Mine, they fell of themselves into such a Consternation, that now they thought of nothing but of seeking their safety in their Heels. Nothing did it avail the Duke of *Weymar* to do in this Occasion, what cou'd be Expected from a Brave Man, and a Great Captain, fear was stronger than his

his example and Remonstrances, and having not been able to stop one man, no not so much as the Officers, he thought it high time and meant to joyn *Harn* who was of another side, and so make their Retreat: But the Enemy had Seiz'd on a Wood between Both, which finish'd putting Disorder and Confusion among his Souldiers. After this they had not any Appearance of Martializ'd men, without keeping or Order, or Rank the Cavalry fled away upon the Spurr, leaving the Infantry to the discretion of the Conquerour; about ten thousand of them were kill'd, Six thousand taken Prisoners, and they lost all their Artillery. The Duke of *Weymar* had all the difficulty imaginable to scape himself, but fortune reserving him for better things, having made him avoid all the Ambuscades with which he was way-laid, he had recourse to *France*, that so he might be able to sett on foot again what was remaining of his Party. Cardinal *Richelieu*, whose Genius lay in knowing how to derive Profit from the very things, by which the World Expected he must have found his Ruine, had the Adresse to procure for himself the Town of *Philipsbourg*; and the *Suedes* were Cautious of refusing it him, it having newly been abandon'd by the Electour of *Saxony*. In the mean while, the Cardinal caus'd the *Mareschal de la Force* to march with his Army into *Germany*. At this Mareschals approach, the Enemies, who had Besieg'd *Heydelberg*, rais'd the Siege, but renew'd it suddainly after, with much greater forces. During these Transactions a Bridge of Boats was laid at *Manheim*, o're which the Army having pass'd, left there the Viscount de *Turenne* to Guard it: but he thinking them going directly to an Engagement, importun'd so the Mareschal, that he Posted further there in his stead. The Enemies had re-

new'd the Siege of *Heydelberg*, as I have already said, nay, and nothing now held out but the Castle. Thus thinking they cou'd make their Ground good in the City, they Expected the Army without, and the Mareschal after having put Succours into the Castle, turn'd his Arms against the City. Thus the Besiegers found themselves Besieg'd, but not having any hopes of being reliev'd, they made use of the Bridge which they had kept to make their Retreat. The Viscount *de Turenne* expos'd himself in such manner to these two Attacks, that the Mareschal *de la Force* publicly rebuk'd him for it; but the Marquis *de la Force* his Son, being a Mareschal *de Camp*, took his part against his father, and maintain'd there to have been no rashness in all he had done.

In the mean while, the Duke of *Orleans* was still at *Bruxelles*, where the *Spaniards* fed him with fine hopes, but they had so much to do on all sides, that this Duke being hurry'd-on by his humour, and the Counsels of *Puilaurens* his favourite, whom the Cardinal had Seduc'd by his wonted Artifices, reconcil'd himself with the King, as being persuaded they were not in a condition to perform their Promises to him. *Puilaurens* induc'd his Master not to communicate his Design to the Queen-Mother: Yet the *Spaniard* suspecting her nevertheless of his evasion, she exasperated things so against the Cardinal to regain their Confidence, that he never forgave her while he liv'd: And on this score was it that she was oblig'd some time after, being as abandon'd by the *Spaniards*, to go spend her Life at *Cologne*, where destitute of bare conveniences, she finish'd her Life in an Inn, shewing by her Example to what Calamities Fortune sometimes destines those she has most favour'd. However the King's harshness to her in Compliance to his Minister, furnish'd  
matter

matter for talk to many People, who cou'd not apprehend that a Prince should forget Nature, for a man he did not love. For in truth the King did not love the Cardinal, and what he did for him most commonly was only out of a kind of fear. But leaving apart things so forreign to return to my Subject, the *Spaniards* sorely spighted at the Duke of *Orleans's* departure, and having no more Expectations in the heart of the Kingdom, bent all their thoughts towards the Frontiers, where they surpriz'd the Cities of *Trier*, and *Philipsbourg*, the latter by means of the Ice, the former by the ill order kept in the Guard of the Town. This was a sensible loss to *France*, that after having pacify'd the Intestine Troubles, expected rather to atchieve new Conquests than to lose those it had already made. And indeed she had but just renew'd her Allyance with the *Hollanders*, and thought her self in so good a Posture, as that the *Spaniards* must sink under the effort of her Arms, when they were once joyn'd to that of the States, so as that she had already made the Division of her Provinces. In execution of this Treaty the Marechal de *Chatillon*, who had the Marechal de *Brezé*, the Cardinals Brother giv'n him for his Companion, lead an Army of forty thousand men towards *Mastricht*. His Equipage and Artillery were answerable to the number of Combatants, for the Cardinal being a great lover of Glory, as well for his Relations as himself, wou'd not suffer there shou'd be any thing wanting in an Army, wherein he had so near a Kinsman for a General. To authorize such powerfull Arming, the War which had hitherto been only made, as I may say, in hugger-mugger, was declar'd by a Herauld sent on purpose to *Bruxelles*. The Pretext us'd for Declaring it, was the Detention of the  
 Arch-

Arch-Bishop of *Trier*, who had been seiz'd on in his Capital City, when it was surpriz'd, and afterwards conducted into *Germany*, where he received scurvy usage. But the Reason was for their so often endeavouring to debauch the Duke of *Orleans*, and for their still endeavouring by the means of the Queen-Mother to make him commit the like faults again. All kinds of efforts were us'd in *France* to bring still other Armies on foot, capable of sustaining so great a Design, and at one and the same time five were reckon'd in the Field, which being all assembled wou'd have made up near a Hundred and Fifty Thousand men. The strongest of all however was that sent into *Holland*; It had directed it's way, as I have already said, towards *Mastricht*: but the *Spaniards* being minded to hinder it's joyning the Prince of *Orange*, ventur'd with less Forces to dispute with it the Passage. Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* was at their Head, and they had giv'n him the Command of their Army, after they had wrought him to a Misunderstanding with the Duke of *Savoy* his Brother, who lay under an obligation of being in the Interests of *France*, since that Crown was in Possession of *Pignerol* and *Cazal*. The desire of reigning had occasion'd his heartily receiving their offers, for he saw the Duke of *Savoy* sickly and a dying, and was willing to get a support to buoy him up against *France*, that wou'd not fail, in case of Accident, to take the part of the Dutcheß of *Savoy*, the Kings Sister, and for whom ev'n before the Death of her Husband, the Regency, and the Guardianship of her Children was design'd. This Prince was Personally brave, and willing to allow something to Chance, he Encamp'd near *Auen*, where the *Marschals de Chastillon* and *de Breze* were bound to pass. These *Marschals* upon the Notice they

had of his Designs, Drew up their Army in Battle-Array, and approaching him there happen'd a sharp Conflict. Prince *Thomas's* valour held the Victory for some time in Ballance, notwithstanding the number; but having been at length oblig'd to give way after a vigorous Resistance, the *French* Army pass'd on, and joyn'd the Prince of *Orange*. The two Armies being thus joyn'd together made up near Seaventy Thousand men, and it was generally believ'd that the *Spaniards* having no Troops to oppose them, they wou'd quickly have taken the Principal Towns of the Low-Countries: But the Division arising among the Heads, and jealousy between the two Nations, all these Conquests were circumscrib'd to the taking of *Tellernont* and some Boroughs. Laying Siege afterward to *Louvain*, there chanc'd a Famine in the *French* Leaguer, so as to constrain 'em to raise the Siege. The Retreat was not difficult by reason of the feebleness of the Enemies: but the want of Bread continuing still more and more, by means of the *Hollanders's* Infidelity, they being very willing to ruin our Army, it was quickly reduc'd into so pitteous a state that it became a Subject of Contempt and Laughter for all those that saw it. These miserable remains not daring to undertake to force five or six thousand men that had possess'd a Passage upon the Frontiere, were oblig'd to go and embark in *Holland*, and being at length arrived in *France*, it so whetted the Cardinal's Resentment, that without particular Considerations, his whole contrivance wou'd have been how to be reveng'd for this Injury. The *Spaniards* advantaging themselves of this Misunderstanding made themselves Master of *Schinkel-en-schons*, while the Imperialists on another side made divers Conquests on the *Suedes*.

However



However it seem'd as if Cardinal *Richelieu*, with all the Illuminations of his mind, had chosen an unseasonable time to declare War, for on whatever side a man took his Prospect, he saw matters in so bad a Posture, that evil Consequences were to be apprehended. Nevertheless as the Cardinal had the Courage not to suffer himself to be dejected, he contriv'd the remedying speedily these Disorders, and principally in what concern'd the *Suedes*, who saw themselves in a great exigency, in comparison of what they had seen themselves in formerly ; for they had already lost the City of *Frankfort* with several others, and the *Imperialists* had laid Siege to *Mayence*, a place of so great Consequence to them, that the greatest part of their Conquests depended on it. For the affording them a speedy Succour, Cardinal *Richelieu* sent order to the Cardinal *de la Valette*, Governour of *Metz* and of *Pais Messin*, to assemble with the utmost Diligence the Forces in his Government, and having increas'd them with some Garrisons of *Lorraine*, he made him Head of that Army, consisting of eighteen thousand men. The Viscount *de Turenne* being his Relation and particular friend, was in this Number, rather thro' this Cardinals Choice than that of the Court, for he requir'd him with great Earnestness, meaning to testify thereby the Esteem and kindness he had for him. The Court wou'd in no wise refuse him a Boon of such small moment, Him whom it chose to the Prejudice of so many great Lords for so considerable an employment, and which seem'd so little to become him; for it was a thing that afforded matter of Discourse to many People, to see a Cardinal at the head of an Army that was to act in favour of Protestants, with whom it was to joyn according as the junctures requir'd it, and

and all whose motions were to be follow'd very often to the prejudice of *Catholiques*. But this was a kind of Recompence for the Services *Valette* had render'd Cardinal *Richelieu*, whose Interests he had been seen to espouse, in opposition to his own Father and Family: This Army being assembled, march'd to the Succours of *Mayence*, then besieg'd as I have said afore, and having taken *Binghen* on it's way, it pass'd the *Rhine* on a Bridge of Boats; which Cardinal *de la Valette* had caus'd to be made. Upon the Tydings the Enemies had of his March, they made havock, whereever we were to pass, but they no sooner knew he had cross'd the *Rhine*, but that they forthwith rais'd the Siege. The Army, in the mean while, being already much distress'd for want of Victuals, saw it self still in a greater necessity, for Provisions it must put into *Mayence* that wanted them extreamly; this render'd Bread so scarce that a Pound was worth a Crown. In so great a Dearness the Viscount *de Turenne* shew'd himself so liberal towards the Souldiers, that after having giv'n all he had, he was forc'd to sell his own Plate to supply his necessities. So Generous an Action coming to the knowledge of all the Army, and perceiving every particular Complemented him on this Account, he spread abroad a Rumour he had lost his Mony at Play, and for this reason had been constrain'd to sell his Plate: But the truth being suddenly known again by All, this still the more augmented his Reputation, and the Amity every Individual had for him. The Duke of *Weymar* joyn'd Cardinal *de la Valette*, but instead of this being of use to him, the Army being become the more numerous, had so much the more Difficulty to subsist. In the mean while the Enemies fancying they shou'd have easy work upon the People already

half

half Vanquish'd by Famine, came to attack the Bridge of *Binghen* which had been brought from *Mayence*, and after having thunder'd it with Canon, a keen Conflict was maintain'd between the two Parties. The Viscount de *Turenne* being retrench'd at the Head of the Bridge, after having repuls'd the Enemies in divers Assaults, seeing his men bent upon leaving their Retrenchments to push them, hinder'd them from so doing, and was much commended for his Prudence; for there needed no more than the least false step and disgrace to ruine the whole Army, and in the general Dejection, they were more dispos'd for flight, than to the performing a Good Action. The Enemies having made some tentatives more but to no purpose, went and Besieg'd *Sarbrük*, so to cut off the Victuals that came from *Metz* a-cross a thousand Difficulties; and this Siege not allowing the staying any longer in a Country, where they already dy'd of hunger, their thoughts were wholly set upon a Retreat. Yet this was the Difficulty, for besides it's being long and the Country Desert, *Galas* was upon the Wing with an Army, that far from suffering any misery had all things in abundance. But there being no other Course to take, they begun their March in the Dusk of the Evening, and having dodg'd *Galas* by a false March, he cou'd not overtake the Arriere-Guard until the Passage of the River *Loutre*, where it was something worsted in a Skirmish. Having pass'd that River almost as soon as we, tho' we had broken down the Bridges we had made with an extreme diligence, he continu'd his Pursuit, so that the Army having again been constrain'd to make head at *Wandreuanges*, it came to a hard Combat, but wherein the Horse suffer'd more than the foot; for while the former sustain'd the brunt of the Enemies on-set, the later pass'd

pass'd the *Sarre*, and Retreated to *Metz*. During so perillous a Retreat the famine dayly augmenting, the Souldiers were seen to stray at a distance from the Armies like desperate wretches, without either minding Order or the worst that cou'd happen. Those who had Bread, durst not Eat it in their Presence least they shou'd fall upon it, and if retain'd by Respect they devour'd it with their Eyes, and only render'd their famine thereby the more insupportable. The Viscount *de Turenne* having one day invird some Officers to a halt, was all of a suddain surrounded with severall Souldiers of Sundry Regiments, and not being able to see them without being toucht with Compassion, he distributed to one after another all that he had, insomuch that only he and those he had invited of 'em all that had nothing, or at least who had so small a Matter, that it was not capable of Satisfying them: He did also an Action in that March which acquir'd him the Love of the Souldiers, for having found one of them in a Corner of a Hedge, whom a Feavor and Misery hinder'd, from being able to march with the Rest, he alighted his Horse, made the Souldier mount him, and having held him on 'till he had got to one of his Wagons, he Com-manded his Servants to take such Care of him as that he might have a good Account of him. As nothing spreads faster or is sooner divulg'd among Troups, than the kindness and Civility of the Officers, and Elpecially of the Principal Officers, the Army was quickly full of the Rumour of his fame; and for this Account, a Souldier who had Money gave his Captain Twenty Gold *Lewisses* to suffer him to go lift himself under the Viscount. This fellow who had serv'd a long while, and had a slightly Presence, presenting himself to him, and being ask't

ask't how much he requir'd, Extremely Surpriz'd the Viscount *de Turenne*, when after he had told him he would have no Money, he on the contrary had giv'n a Sum to capacitate him to come into his Regiment. The Viscount *de Turenne* took instantly out his Purse, and restoring him his Twenty Gold *Louis*, gave him also Twenty more, with a Promise of remembring in time, and place the kindness he bore him. And indeed having found him upon Occasion to be a very Brave Man, he advanc'd him in his Regiment, and wou'd still have done more for him, if this Souldier had not been kill'd five or six years after.

The Disorder Cardinal *de la Valette* was in, was not the only Misfortune we lay under. Besides that the Prince of *Condé* by having ill taken his Measures, or according as some have believ'd by having been too Self-Interress'd, had rais'd the Siege of *Dole*, after having lost a Part of his Army, *Galas* was enter'd *Burgundy*, where he laid All in Fire and Blood. All went so ill upon the Frontier of *Picardy*, that the *Parisians* fancy'd the Enemies to be already at their Gates, for after having taken *la Capelle* and *le Catelet*, not without some suspicion that the Governours might have made a better Defence, if they had minded, they besieg'd *Corbie*, in the heart of that Province, and from whence they might make inroads to the Metropolis of the Kingdom. Before the Success of this Enterprize was known, they hasten'd to break down the Bridges on the River *d'Oise*, the only River that cou'd obstruct their coming to *Paris*: But the Consternation, before very great, was now augmented, when the *Parisians* heard that this Place was fall'n into their hands, and that they were likewise become Masters of the City of *Roye*. To remedy such Cogent Disorders the Ban  
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and Arriebar was Conven'd, and to appease the Discontents of the Princes of the Blood, who complain'd they were had in no Account, the Forces of the Kingdom were put into their hands. The Duke of Orleans with an Army full of the Nobles, recover'd *Roye* and march'd against *Corbis*: but Cardinal *Richelieu* being jealous of the honour he was going to gain by this Conquest, caus'd the King to remove thither, who accomplisht it's Reduction. The Count of *Soissons* was not so happy in his Enterprizes, but nevertheless was not wanting to serve usefully; for after having been a little worsted near *de la Fere*, he prevented the Enemies that meant to besiege *Doullens*; Insomuch that having put succours, into that Place, he retired without doing any thing further. None but *Galas* now gave any trouble, he lay Encamp'd near *Fontaines Francoise*, from whence his Parties made remote Excursions. *Dijon* with some Other Cities of *Burgundy*, had already contributed, and not one of 'em was there in a Condition to Sustain a Siege; but good luck would have it that he having turn'd his Arms against *St. Jean de Laone*, *Rantzan* got into the Town, and his Valour affording Cardinal *de la Valette* leisure to assemble Thirty Thousand Men, he march'd against him with Design to give him Battle. *Galas*, having contrary Orders, rais'd the Siege without staying his coming, Insomuch that all this great Storm, which seem'd to threaten us with utter Destruction, was reduc'd to the loss of some Cattle the Enemies had taken out of the open Field. True it is that they had still a foot left in the Kingdom by the means of the *Iles Saintes Honorat* and *Sainte Marguerite*, Surrendred to them by the Cowardize of the Governours; but being separated from the rest of *France*, and easy to be

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remedy'd,

remedy'd, no Disquiet was entertain'd on this Account, and bating the Charges necessary for their Recovery, they were not of Concern. And in effect the Count *de Harcourt* being enjoin'd with this Expedition, accomplisht it with as little trouble as was expected, but with a little more Danger, for he found the *Spaniards* had Shipt an Army to dispute him his Passage, and he saw himself oblig'd to fight it, or to avoid so doing by taking a long Circuit. The success having been favourable to him, the rest of the Expedition was also so. Insomuch that he render'd the Realm Serene again, that had been in Danger by so many Unhappy Occasions.

These troubles having been thus appeas'd, the King in his turn carry'd the War into different Provinces of the *Spaniards*, and was fortunate in certain places, and unfortunate in others. In the mean while the Services done him by the Viscount *de Turenne*, with the things said to his Advantage, and which he himself acknowledg'd, obliging him to distinguish him, he made him a Marechal de Camp, and was not deceiv'd in this his Choice. The Cardinal *de la Valette*, having this young Prince in his Army, setting forward for *Alsacia*, and desiring to make a Diversion in favour of the *Suedes*, whose Affairs, far from being flourishing, were in a bad Posture, besieg'd *Saverne* in conjunction with the Duke of *Weymar*, while the Imperialists attack'd *Coblentz* and *Hermesstein*. *Saverne* was not so strong a place, but there was a good Garrison in it, which render'd the taking of it the more Difficult. In the mean while the Viscount *de Turenne* thinking himself oblig'd to do more than ordinary to shew himself worthy of the employment the King had giv'n him, expos'd himself extraordinarily in sundry Affairs,

faults, wherein we were ever repuls'd. At length he found the means to seize on the Upper Town, which cut off the Communication of the Lower Town with the Castle. Afterwards they rais'd their Attacks on the side of the Lower Town, which the Enemies still defended with so much Valour, that before they cou'd be brought to Yield, they kill'd several Officers of note, nay and wounded the Viscount *de Turenne*. As his wound was but slight, he did not withdraw out of the Fight 'till the Enemies were compell'd to demand Quarter, nay and wou'd needs render an Account to the Generals of all that occur'd in that occasion afore he'd seek after Remedy. But as he fancy'd, either he might be accus'd of Ostentation, or that they wou'd not give him a hearing if they perceiv'd his Wound, he wrapt his Arm up in his Handkerchief, and as long as his Relation lasted, he knew so well how to keep all conceal'd, that they suspected nothing of the matter. Thus when the Generals were afterwards inform'd of his being wounded, they inquir'd how that came about, imagining it to have been since they had seen him. The Castle of *Saverne* surrendred quickly after the Two Towns, and the Viscount *de Turenne's* wound did not hinder him from being present in all occasions where requir'd by the Duty of his Charge. However he was not absolutely Cur'd when he laid aside the scarf he had put on to sustain his Arm, for he did not approve of the procedure of those, who to acquaint others they have receiv'd a Wound in a certain occasion, make Parade, or of a Scarf or of a Plaster a long while after they are no longer needfull, as if such contingencies render'd 'em the more worthy of Esteem. He said to this purpose, that a Coward was wounded as



soon as a Brave man ; that thus it was a mistake to think to derive a Vanity from a thing which was as common to those that wanted heart as to those that had Courage. Tho' his Wound was not considerable, as I have already said, the whole Army not only express'd their Concern for this Accident, but also all the great personages in *France*, from whom he receiv'd Letters : But willing to undeceive them, he writ himself his Answers to them, thinking there to be no better means to let them see that the mischance was not so bad as they might perhaps imagine. Some of his Servants having nevertheless told him it wou'd be for his Advantage not to undeceive so soon the Court, from whence he might hope for the more favours, he answer'd him, that he was not of a humour to deceive any body, and much less the King than any other.

About this time, or a little afore, the Duke of *Orleans* not being able to calm the Spleen he bore the Cardinal, was retir'd to *Blois*, and wanted not a Pretext to Palliate his Retreat. The Count of *Soissons* being pusht on with the same Spirit was likewise gone to *Sedan*, which made the Viscount de *Turenne* fear that this might excite troubles in the Realm and in his House, for *Monsieur de Bouillon* his Brother must necessarily have giv'n his Consent to the Count of *Soisson's* fault ; and as he did not doubt but that the Cardinal de *Richelieu* wou'd be very glad to augment the Frontier with so fine a Place as *Sedan*, he lay under some apprehension the Cardinal wou'd lay hold on this occasion to divest his Family of it. And indeed it is to be presum'd, that this was sufficiently this Ministers Design. But as the Kingdom had been, as I may say, within two inches of it's Ruine, he was afraid least that

as he was the Author of the War, he might be render'd responsible for the bad events that might happen, if after having introduc'd a Forreign he also introduc'd a Civil War. Wherefore this consideration inclin'd him to handle things mildly, and having found the means to sweeten the Duke of *Orlean's* Discontent, by making him hope the King wou'd consent to his Marriage, only the Count *de Soissons* had he now with whom to treat, but whose humour was more difficult to manage. This Prince, as all know, was only the last Prince of the Blood, but as he had Pretensions to become the first, for he had had Process against the Prince of *Condé*, hoping to cause him to be declar'd a Bastard, by reason he came into the world, thirteen Months after his Father's Death, he carry'd it so high that many people thought him to be proud. However the source of his Discontent proceeded from his imagining his not having Justice done him; and tho' he had lost his process by an Arrest of Parliament, that had judg'd in Consequence of a Result of Physicians; that the Princess of *Condé's* grief for her Husbands Death, might have retarded her Fruit, he treated this as a Trifle, and made Annually Protestations against this Arrest. Cardinal *de Richelieu* knowing that this Affair lay deep in his Heart, had a Proposal made to him by *Senneterre*, the Intendant of his family, that if he wou'd Marry *Madam de Combalet* his Niece, he wou'd serve him with all his Credit; but this Prince refusing to exalt himself by a baseness of this nature ( for this Lady was said to be one of the Cardinals comfortable Importances ) was furiously angry with *Senneterre* for having taken upon him this Commission, and having ratled him with severe language, nay, and as they say cuff'd him too,

he wou'd not see him any more. This ill usage wrought his Fortune, for the Cardinal thinking himself oblig'd to take care of him, conferr'd on him Benefits, and procur'd him Honours which afore he durst not have hoped for. In fine, his Son has pusht things still further, and dy'd Duke, and Peer, and Marechal of *France* ; So true is it that when Fortune once begins to look on us with a good eye, She's not weary afterwards of Conferring on us Favours. The Cardinal's Arrogance incens'd him, at the manner of the Count *de Soisson's* receiving his Offers, but being retain'd by the considerations above-mention'd, he dissabl'd his Resentment, and consented he should stay at *Sedan*, where to divert him from the thoughts he might have of embroiling the State, he engag'd him in some little Amours by the means of some of his Domesticks that were his Pensioners. Being assur'd on that side, his thoughts soar'd only now at waging War against Forreigners. For that purpose he desir'd the Duke of *Weymar* to take a turn to *Paris*, that he might conferr with him; and they took together Measures for the Affairs of *Germany*, yet without forgetting those of *Flanders*, where he design'd to make his greatest efforts. The Duke of *Weymar* being return'd satisfy'd with the Reception made him by the King and his Minister, assembled his Army, while that a part of our Troups, that had serv'd in *Germany* the year afore had orders to file upon the Frontier of *Flanders*. The Viscount *de Turenne* who had been alarm'd at the Count *de Soissons* Affair, and had an inconceivable joy to see it had no sequel, having been appointed to serve in those Troups, went thither with the Cardinal *de la Motte*, who had the Command of them, but to whom they had given the Duke of *Gueldre's* his Brother to Command

mand jointly with him. Besides this, two Other Armies were there, One under the Conduct of the Marquis de la Meilleraie, Great Master of the Artillery, Cardinal Richelieu's Nephew, the Other under the Mareschal de Chatillon. This, to hinder the Succours of the *Germain's*, advanc'd into *Luxembourg*, where it took *Danvillers*; the Other march'd on the Sea side, and pretended thro' some Correspondence to make sure of *St. Omer*, but the Traytors having fail'd in their Word, it was not strong enough to attack a Place of that Consequence, and whose bare Approches were capable of making it receive some Affront; for this City is invironed with an Infinite Number of Forts that Defend it, and are not Easy to be Won. In the mean while, the Cardinal de la Valette was entred *Flanders* at the Head of an Army of Eighteen Thousand Men; and had attack'd *Chateau-Cambresis*. Having taken it, he caus'd his Troups to march against *Landrecies*, a Small Place, but strong thro' it's Scituation and it's Out-works, so that not daring to undertake this Conquest with such a Handfull of Men, he rested Satisfy'd with investing it till such time as he was joyn'd by *Meilleraie*. This Place was likewise Secur'd with a Good Garrison, but put its Principal Confidence in the Succours it Expected from *Germany*, and to be brought it by *Picolomini*. As what was a Subject of hope for the Besieged, was a Subject of fear for the Besiegers, they hasten'd the Works and the Attacks, that so the Succours might not arrive in time. The Viscount de Turenne in whom the Cardinal de la Valette had a most peculiar Confidence, did not stir out of the Trench, save only to go give him an Account of Occurrences. But the Continual Rains hinder'd things from advancing as they desired, besides the frequent Sallies of the Besieged incom-

moded the Labourers, and Occasion'd sometimes disorder. Colonel *Gassion*, whose Reputation was already very Great in the Troups, having been wounded in the Neck in one of those Sallies, seem'd to Paul the Souldiers Courage, who consider'd him as a Man capable in case of a Battle to make the Victory turn on their side : But the Viscount *de Turenne* did with Mildness remonstrate to them their Duty, and insensibly put them again in the Right Way ; He was in the Water with them up to the very Middle, and to animate them by his Example he was the first to labour, and the last to finish the labour ; he told them that the Rain wou'd not last always, but that in the mean while they were not to lose time, because that the Enemies who were already but too much puffed up with presumption, wou'd conceive at it the more Audaciousness. At length, the Rains ceasing, and the Works being advanc'd as much as the foul Wether wou'd allow of, the Place was Won, after the Governour had done all in his Power for a Brave Defence. From *Landrecis* Part of the Army march'd to *Manbeuge* under the Command of the Duke of *Candalle*, who had under him the Viscount *De Turenne*. This Place having made a shew of Resisting, was quickly reduc'd by force, as well as that of *Beaumont* belonging to the Princes of *Chikmay*. In the mean while the Duke of *Candalle* sent the Viscount *De Turenne* against the Castle of *Sobres*, Whose situation was advantageous, and where above Eight hundred Peasants had taken refuge with their Goods. These being inured to fire by the long Wars they had in their Country, March'd out against him, and he slighted at first this Occasion as Unworthy of his Courage : But having observ'd their Countenance, and that they had Possess'd the Hedges from whence they fir'd briskly, he retain'd his Souldiers who wou'd have

have fall'n upon 'em without order, as People that did not deserve the using so much Caution. After having thus hinder'd his Men from Exposing themselves rashly, he Caus'd the Enemies to be attack'd, who Manag'd their Defence with much Courage, but cou'd not however stand against the fury, with which they were Assaulted. They wou'd have retreated into the Castle, but the Viscount *de Turenne* Pursu'd them so warmly, that he enforc'd the Place Pell-mell with them: Some in the mean while making their Escape into the Town, they put on again the face of Defence, but the Viscount *de Turenne* having Sworn that they should be all hang'd if they made one shot; This made 'em warily consult what Course to take; Infomuch, that they Surrender'd upon Discretion. After this Our Troups had a Design to attack *Avesnes*, or else some other Place in the Neighbourhood, but upon the Advice that *Picolomini* had pass'd the *Meuse* at *Namur*, they thought it sufficient to stand upon the Defensive, or at least untill they had received Succours: *Bussy Lamet* who had newly defended *Hermestheim* with great Renown, having brought Assistance just in the nick, this kept *Picolomini* in Awe, and produc'd the Desire in Cardinal *de la Valette* to Besiege *la Capelle*: But *Bussy* venturing too near to view it with the Marquis *de Rambures* Governour of *Doullens*, a Mareschal of Camp, the one was kill'd stone-Dead, and the other Wounded so dangerously that he liv'd but a few days. *La Capelle*, notwithstanding the loss of two such brave men, was press'd so close, as to be forc'd to surrender before *Picolomini* cou'd arrive. *Picolomini* endeavour'd to revenge himself for this Affront upon *Maubeuge*, which he plunder'd as soon as he took it, and made divers Attempts upon our Army, some of which he sped in,

in, and others only turn'd to his Confusion. The Viscount de Turenne had been an Intimate friend of Count de Buffy Lamet, and was so sensibly afflicted at his Death, as to render him almost incapable of all Consolation. And indeed he was a man of extraordinary merit, and had but one step to make to the being Mareschal. But a Sudden Death having ravish'd him from his Family and his Friends, he miss'd that Honour, the greatest a Gentleman can attain.

While Cardinal de la Valette was performing the things I have now mention'd, the Prince of Orange, with whom the Cardinal de Richelieu was come to a Right Understanding, had Besieg'd the City of Breda, and was stimulated to that Conquest by more than one Reason. For besides the Glory that must thence redound to him, he fought for his own Patrimony. Yet as Spinola's staying a long while before that Place, minded him that nothing was to be neglected, he Fortify'd his Camp and Skreen'd it from Insult. The Spaniards also prepar'd to go Fight him; but fearing a Descent upon the Coasts, by reason of some Ships that had appear'd at Flushing, they lost time, and when they came in view of the Enemy, they found him so well intrench'd that they durst not proceed to an Engagement. The Prince of Orange making use of his Advantage press'd the Town, and his Conduct being no less than his Courage, he took it in Two Months time, whereas it's Conquest had cost Spinola Nine.

The Spaniards expected Comfort for these Unhappy Successes in the taking of Louana, which they thought near at hand. This Place is situated in the very farther parts of Flanders, and bordering on Rouffellon, and Besieg'd it they had with all their Forces. Nothing was wanting in their  
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Camp, they receiv'd all their Ammunitions from *Perpignan*, just at hand, and Victuals came to them in abundance, whereas that the Besieged were destitute of all things, and ev'n without hopes of Succours, for only some few Garrisons were there in the Province, which we durst not draw out for fear of some Accident. But the Duke of *Hohenzollern*, the Governour of This Province, having assembled his Friends, and a good number of the Nobles, with them undertook to march against the Enemies, notwithstanding their Advantages, and his good fortune was such, that fear so seiz'd upon their Spirits, that after having stood a feeble Conflict, they abandon'd their Canon, and their Equipage. This happy Success procur'd him the *Baton* of *Marschal of France*, and since was he call'd the *Marschal de Schoenberg*, by his Father's Name.

All these Advantages were capable of giving much joy to the Court, if the Duke of *Weymar* had been as Successfull in his Enterprizes, and if something else had not giv'n some Subject of Discontent: But the Duke of *Rohan*, who had made his accommodation with the King, and had dexterously seiz'd upon the *Valteline*, was newly drove thence by force; Inso much that all the Pretensions that had been conceiv'd to the Land of *Milan*, vanish'd into Smoke. The Duke of *Weymar* on his side having undertaken to Succour *Hanaw*, besieg'd by the Imperialists, had been routed, and put to flight. As fortune was thus ballanc'd on Both sides, the Pope fancy'd the Two Crowns would listen the more willingly to a Peace, and he endeavour'd to mediate it by the Interposition of his *Nuncio's*. But he had to overcome the hatred of the two Ministers, who out of the Aversion they bore one another, troubled their heads little as to the Mischiefs with which they were preparing to molest all *Europe*.  
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These two Men did all in the two Kingdoms, and the two Kings were only two Phantasmes to amuse the People with the Grandeur of their Names; The One, was introduc'd into the Ministry in Spight of his Master, and in spight of him maintain'd himself in that Station; the Other had been call'd to it by the Princes Inclination, after the Duke of *Lerma's* Disgrace, a Man so hated as to have had his own very Son for his Enemy. They had both the Glory of their Countrey, in Recommendation, or rather, they only sought to raise it upon the Ruines of each Other, for their Animosity was the source of most of their Great Designs. Not but that the Cardinal *de Richelieu* was a great man, but he gave himself entirely to Revenge, so as to ruine one of his Enemies, he would not have much Bogg'l'd to ruine all the People. Now he remembred it to be in the View of procuring his Destruction, that Count *Olivarez*, vulgarly call'd *Conde-Duke* Minister of *Spain*, had induc'd the Duke of *Orleans* so often to Rebell, and contriv'd so many Caballs, and his Design was now to be reveng'd for these Transactions. For this Reason did he formally oppose the Peace, to which he on purpose rais'd Difficulties. He wou'd not own *Ferdinand's* Son for King of the *Romans*, and grounded his Opposition upon the Electour of *Trevis*, having protested against his Election. *Ferdinand* dying in these time of the Occurrences, this Cavil occasion'd still more Obstacles, for then the thing in Agitation was no longer a King of the *Romans*, but an Emperour, whose Quality was disputed. The House of *Austria* on it's side did not want Pretexts to cover the jealousy it had against the House of *France*, so as that all the Good Offices of the Pope, were without Effect. Thus the War that had already made such Waste, and Havocks, Spread still with more fury. The *Spaniards* induc'd  
Prince

Prince *Thomas* to return into *Italy*, that so his Presence might the more powerfully Excite his Creatures, and he fram'd in a little time so Dangerous a Party, that with the Succours of the *Spaniards* he reduc'd the Dutches of *Savoy* to Extremity. This Princess was not as yet, very handy in the Government of her Dominions, she just came from under the Check of a Husband, who never having had any Inclination for Us, had not giv'n her any Share in Affairs, imagining that being as she was a *French-woman*, she wou'd ever have much inclination for her Country. However he had been oblig'd for Reasons I have before deduc'd, to declare himself for us; but tho' he had joyn'd his Arms to Ours, his Captains had still some Secret order rather to Spinn out in Length than to finish the War. Now the Dutches of *Savoy* having follow'd at first this Policy, Cardinal *Richelieu* was very willing to suffer her by little and little to be undermin'd, that to be freed out of Danger she might blindly follow his Will; for this Reason instead of sending her a Succour capable of screening her, he caus'd at first only to pass into that Country some troupes of New Leavyes, that quickly for want of Discipline were totally dispers'd. In the mean while the *Spaniards* taking advantage of the Conjuncture, resolv'd to drive us out of the *Milanese*, where we had made some Conquests; but the Beginnings were so unfortunate to them, that they were beaten in two Incounters, at the last of which *Martin d' Arragon* who commanded them had much ado to Escape. Yet as it was only a detachment of the Army, they had quickly repaired this loss, and thinking themselves in a Posture to take their Revenge, they laid siege to *Breme*, wherein a Gentleman of *Brittany*, call'd *Montgaillard*, commanded. The *Savoyards*

ards had no sooner been inform'd of what occur'd, but that forgetting their Policy, they press'd the Marechal de Crequi to give succours, for so bleat'd were they not, but that they foresaw how after the taking of *Breme*, the *Spaniards* would turn their Arms against them. The Common Peril having thus reunited Peoples Minds, they joyn'd the Marechal de Crequi, notwithstanding the Averfion they bore him, for they suspected him of having poyson'd their late Duke in an Entertainment, and what the more corroborated their Suspicion, is, that most the Guests dy'd of some days after, or had like to have dy'd. Be it as it will, this having not obstructed the Conjunction of the two Armies, they march'd to the Succour's of *Breme*, wherein they Endeavour'd to Enter some Men by the Po. A certain Number of Barkes were fitted out for this purpose, on Board of which they Shipt some Infantry with Ingeniers for whom they had Occasion in the Place. But the *Spaniards* possessing the Bancks of the River, and having provided them with Cannon, fir'd so furiously, that after having kill'd some Men, and sunk two Barkes, the Rest chose to return. This Unfortunate Success Startled the Marechal de Crequi, but not in such manner as to abandon his Enterprize.

However having no other means, save to attack the Lines, Needs would he view 'em first of all ; but as he advanc'd to that purpose, came a Cannon shot that kill'd him stone Dead, and Cast a Great Consternation into his Party. The Rumour of his Death being quickly Spread among the Enemies, they forthwith signify'd it to the Governour as a means to terrify him into a Surrender ; but he did not seem so startled, but that he Defended the Place some time longer with great Courage. How-

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ever having yeilded sooner than he ought, he was beheaded at *Casal*, whither he had Permission to retreat with his Garrison.

The Mareschal *de Crequi's* Death occasion'd much Disorder in our Army, as well as in the Affairs of *Italy*, and before the Court could give New Orders, the whole Army disbanded for want of Discipline and Pay. In the mean while the *Spaniards* after having settled their New Conquest, caus'd their Troupes to march, without our being able to guess at their Design, for *Leganes* who commanded them, had dayly Protestations made to the Dutchesse of *Savoy*, that the King his Master Design'd no Warr with her, and that provided she departed from that secret Intelligence she was suspected of with the *French*, she might enjoy in Quiet her Territories and the Guardianship of her Children. These Assurances were Charming to a Woman little acquainted in Affairs of Warr, and whose misfortune was to have her Country Scituated 'twixt the States of two Princes, who pretended both to give the Law: But finally she in a short time perceiv'd all these fine Words were only to amuse her, for *Leganes* to the Prejudice of all his Promises approach'd *Verceil*, after having Sack'd all the places in his Passage. As there had been much imprudence in her to listen after this to any of his Propositions, She had recourse to the King her Brother, of whom she Earnestly requested a Succour conformable to the Exigency of the present posture of her Condition: But the concerns of Blood being a small matter among Princes in Comparison of their Interest, they ty'd and hamper'd her so to purpose, that she had now nothing left but the Name of Sovereign; under Colour of Preserving *Piament* for her, we Garrison'd it's strongest places, and from which the Capital only

only was exempt; but as all the rest was nothing without our getting this into our Clutches, so many Distrusts were injected into this Princess's mind, that dayly imagining her self upon the point of being seiz'd, she of her own accord was the first to demand, we wou'd introduce Troups into the Town. Yet it was to be fear'd the Inhabitants would shut up the Gates, if they had the hint of this Design. This made it thought convenient to manage the thing so Dextrously as that it cou'd not miss. For this purpose Troups were order'd to draw up hard by under the pretence of a Review, and the Principal Persons being gone out for sight-sake, it was easy to seize on the Town, by keeping in their hands those who might make Resistance. Every one was not content with this proceeding, and many now favour'd Prince *Thomas*, that without this wou'd not have thought of him.

The Dutchess of *Savoy* having thus thrown her self into the King her Brother's Arms, it was now his part to espouse her Interests, being henceforward become his own. In the mean while the great Affairs he had on all sides hindering him from doing all he willingly wou'd, he cou'd only send her Eighteen Thousand men under the Conduct of Cardinal *de la Valette*. And indeed we were very much perplex'd in *Flanders*, where we had with not overmuch consideration under taken the Siege of *St Omar* under the Beard of a Powerful Army. But the Grudging we had to that Place, making us pass over all things, Provision was made of Men and Money. Yet cou'd we not hinder the *Spaniards* from putting Succours into the Place, and this Misfortune having befall'n us twice, this so chill'd our Souldiers Courage, and flush'd that of our Enemies, that as much as ours dreaded fighting, so much  
theirs

theirs desir'd it. The two Armies coming to Blows with Dispositions so little favourable to Us, the Success was adverse to Us. They forc'd our Lines, beat a Quarter, and at length having put a new Succours into the Town, they Compell'd us to raise the Siege. This Disgrace was rewarded by taking *du Catelet*; but as it was a poor pittance in Comparison of what we had miss'd of taking, it prov'd no great Subject of Consolation; add to this that the Prince of *Condé* was oblig'd to raise the Siege of *Fontarabia*, where strange things occur'd. For this Prince designing to reinforce the Quarter, by which he knew the *Spaniards* were to come, those that were there already took up Arms against those that came to their Assistance, and thus so well-favour'd the Enemies Design, that they entred the Town without striking a blow. It was necessary to look out in the mean time to what wou'd happen in *Germany* and in *Italy*, where the War was wag'd with no less intent and Application. Certainly tho' we came by the *Lee* in *Flanders* and *Navarre*, Fortune made us a great Reparation in *Alsace*, where the Duke of *Weymar* did Wonders. This Prince having been beaten, as I have said, the Year afore, in endeavouring to relieve *Hanau*, and undergone other more Disgraces; for having pretended to retaliate upon *Bezanson* where he had some Correspondence, he had miss'd his Aim: From thence after having giv'n some repose to his Army and encreas'd it with some Succours, he went and attack'd *Rhinfeldt*, a Town situated upon the *Rhine*, and one of the four Forrest-Towns. This Place being well Garrison'd made a brave Defence, and gave the Duke de *Savilly* and *Jean de Wert* time to run in to it's Succours. The Duke of *Weymar* having with him the Duke of *Rohan*, and holding himself secur'd by the Presence of so great a Captain.

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did not stick to accept the Battaile, offer'd him by the Enemy ; But fortune to make him the better relish the Advantages she was preparing him in the sequel, turn'd her back upon him still, and the Duke of Rohan fighting with the same Courage he had so often fought, receiv'd a Wound of which he dy'd in a few days after. He was doubtless a great man and had all the Parts of an Excellent Captain, but wou'd have seem'd much greater, if he had been in a State where the Prince had been of his Religion, or He of the Religion of his Prince ; for this occasion'd the Conferring on him only difficult Commands, and wherein was design'd rather his Ruin than his Fame. He liv'd with the Amity of the People of the Reform'd Religion, to whom he render'd great services, as well as the Duke of *Soubize* his Brother, but only carry'd along their Esteem at his Death, being suspected of having abandon'd them for his Interests.

After the loss of this Battaile, the Enemy's meaning to make advantage of their Victory, pursu'd *Weymar* who was retir'd towards *Offembourg*, and reduc'd him to the necessity of fighting a new Battail, or of ruining his Army by a new flight ; the one seeming more glorious than the Other, he recall'd the Courage of his men who seem'd stunn'd, and having let them know the necessity there was of Conquering or of Dying, they unanimously demanded an Engagement with the Enemy : He was too knowing to suffer their Courage to Cool, and having taken them at their word, at the very same moment, he began the Charge himself, and was the first that brook in upon the Enemy. The Conflict was Sharp, and obstinately fought on Both sides, but *Weymer* performing Wonders with his Arms as well as with his Head, encourag'd his men in such manner that all the Resistance the others cou'd make prov'd in vain. The Duke de

*Savilly,*

*Savelly*, after having several times been *belter-skelter* among the *Suedes*, was forc'd to betake himself to flight, abandoning *Jean de Wert* who maintain'd his Ground still a while; but seeing himself surrounded on all sides, he layd down his Arms to save his Life. *Weymar* having repaired by so great victory the misfortunes that had befall'n him, return'd before *Rhinfeld* which Submitted to his Obedience; from thence after having reduc'd the Principall Citys of *Alsace*, he laid Siege to *Brisac*, which was as the Master-piece and Coronation of so many Great Actions. The Enemies rais'd several Armies and fought several Battails for the Relief of a Place so strong and of such great Consequence: But *Weymer* receiving all Requisites in Abundance from Cardinal *de Richelieu* so Efficaciously defeated their Endeavours, that after an Extreme long Siege, he accomplish'd his Enterprize.

The Affairs of *Italy* wanted much of being in so good a Posture, the Viscount *de Turenne* was there with the Cardinal *de la Vallette*, but very much perplex'd how in due manner to second him in a thousand Difficulties, arising Ev'ry Moment. As to military Concerns, they were of easy management, but the juncture requir'd a dayly dissipating of factions, the reconciling the Dutchess with her Ministers, the being solicitous for the fidelity of the Towns, observing the Governours, and above all a Weathering th' Aversion they bear him in this Countrey, on the score of his Religion: For the *Italians* that are e'en more superstitious than the *Spaniards*, said, little cou'd be Expected from so ill match'd a Succours, that it was an unheard of thing to see a Cardinal have for one of the Principall Officers of his Army, a Heretique, whose father wou'd have set *France* in a Combustion, so to have caus'd his Religion to have flourish'd in that Realm, and who had



been brought up in a City, which after the Example of *Rochell* serv'd for a Retreat to Rebels and Malecontents, and had in fine perform'd his Apprentiship in *Holland*, the very Center and Azylum of Heresy. But if this Matter had any thing Extraordinary, it lay rather in seeing a Cardinal using a Profession so Extrinsique to his own, seeing him, I say, dayly besmeering his hands in the Blood of an Infinite Number of *Christians*, without remorse or any other Disquiet than that giv'n him by an immoderate Ambition. Yet must the Viscount *de Turenne* inure himself to the Manners and fashions of the Countrey, not to say the follies, and by his Patience overcome so many obstacles that all at once interfer'd our Designs. He durst hardly make Profession of his Religion, and if he had been less zelous, he wou'd have quickly come to have liv'd like an Atheist: but nothing being capable of making him fail in what he ow'd to God, he flited the hatred of those who bore him ill Will, and perform'd his Duty. The Dutches of *Savoy* was not altogether so prepossess'd as Others; but nevertheless did not refrain often telling him, that being so very worthy a Person, but one thing more cou'd there be desired in him, namely the Change of Religion. He heard all this without suffering himself to be Seduc'd, being insensible to flatteries as well as Persecution. But so many other matters were then on foot, that these were only talkt of, as a man may say, for fashions sake. The Viscount *de Turenne* one day found a Note under his Napkin, by which he had Intimation that the Governour of *Cazal*, corresponded with the Enemies, and that if not obviated, Evident Proofs of this his Intelligence wou'd be seen in a little while. Having perus'd this Note, he took no manner of Notice, but after Dinner repair'd to Cardinal

*de la Vallette*, and having imparted the note to him, they were Both very much at a loss, not knowing what to think on't; for on the one side they doubted it might be a forg'd advertisement to decoy 'em into some false step, and on the other it requir'd their baulking no Precautions. The Cardinal was of the first Opinion, but the Viscount *de Turenne* of the Second, and grounding his thoughts upon that, the Governors being in the Place on the behalf of the Duke of *Mantoua*, he wou'd now no longer mind remaining Loyal, that Prince being lately Dead, and having left for his Heir only a young Child, incapable of Exerting his Resentment for the faults committed against his Service. He added to these a World of Other reasons, and having at length brought the Cardinal o'er to his Opinion, the result was to have him narrowly watcht, and that in the mean while a Rumour should be gi'v'n out of a Design to visit the Garrisons, that so he might not be Startl'd if they went by Chance to *Cazal*. Accordingly they began to go to some, and in the *Interim* intercepted Letters that left no Room to doubt of the Correspondence. The matter having been thus averr'd, the Cardinal went to *Cazal* with the Viscount *de Turenne*, and the Governour coming to pay them his Respects was Seiz'd, tho' they had discover'd his Actions to be wholly directed by the Dutcheß of *Mantoua's* Orders. For this Princess having none of the Deepest Reach, and considering only the time present, and seeing *Piedmont* full of troubles and Caballs, had Entertain'd a Phancy she should better secure the fortune of her Grand-Son, by putting him under the Protection of the *Spaniards* than by leaving him under Ours. The Viscount *de Turenne* could never Guess from whose hands the Note came, but imagin'd it to

be thro' the means of the Dutcheſs of *Mantona*, who had repented what ſhe had done, and wou'd have been very glad to have had another Prevented it's taking effect.

Having thus quaſht this Conſpiracy, they had now no Other Diſquiet then of releiving *Vercil*, beſieg'd by *Leganez* with all his forces, and he holding himſelf cockſure of the Succeſs, for all that commonly contributes to the Defence of a Place was wanting in this Men, Money, Ammunitions, Proviſions, Ingeniers; and with great Probability might it have been ſaid theſe Omiſſions had been made on purpoſe to further the Enemy's Deſign. The Governour meerly by his own virtue made good theſe Defects in the Inſtances he gave of his Courage and Prudence, the ſituation of the Place having withall much obſtructed the works; for the River of *Sefia*, making ſeveral little Iſlands at a Muſket-Shots Diſtance, occaſion'd the Circumvallation to be much larger, and the Lines more difficult to keep. Nevertheleſs *Leganez* having by his Patience accompliſht all, before Cardinal *de la Vallette* had been able to aſſemble forces Sufficient to give Battle, he ſell to preſſing the Town, and reduc'd it to ſo great an Extremity, that it could not thenceforward hold out long without a ſpeedy Succours. The Governour having found the means to make known it's Circumſtances to the Cardinal *de la Vallette*, the Cardinal ſell to March with twelve thouſand Men of his own Troups, and thoſe of *Savoy* to repair to its Relief. But Heav'n beginning to thwart his Enterprize by Continuall Rains, this ſo fatigated the Army, that when it was come in view of the Enemies Camp, it ſtood more in need of reſt than Labour. *Leganez* that it might not take any Repoſe, wou'd willingly have march'd with all his forces

to give Battle, if at the same time he cou'd have maintain'd his Lines ; but having not Men sufficient for Both, he detach'd his Cavalry to Skirmish, while the Infantry remain'd upon the Guard of his Posts. The Weakness of the Garrison hinder'd the Governour from being able to advantage himself of this Diversion by sallies, but animating his Men by the hopes of the Succours already in sight, nay and already engag'd with th' Enemies, he made 'em resolve upon a Vigorous Defence. Things being in this Posture, it could not well be but that some little Skirmishes must pass between the two Armies, but this not being decisive, and on the contrary 'only the more and more wearying his Troups, and giving the Enemies time to prosecute their Works, the Cardinal *de la Vallette* resolv'd to push once for all. For this purpose he divided his Army in two, but in such manner however as to be able to Succour one another, and having committed one part to the Viscount *de Turenne* to attack the Quarter of the *Germans*, he march'd with the Rest against the *Spaniards*. They receiv'd him with much Courage, and so cool'd his heat, that this Attempt would have prov'd abortive, if the Viscount *de Turenne* had not on his side fought with more good Fortune. For having surpriz'd the *Germans* by a brisk and Vigorous Charge, he made them buckle at the very first, then having broke them, Eight or Nine Hundred men pass'd through, carrying with them Ammunitions and Provisions. The Marquis *de Legantz* exasperated at this Affront, reveng'd himself upon the *Germans*, whom he tax'd with Negligence and Cowardize, he caus'd some Companies of 'em to be Decimated, and the Sentinels to be hang'd, as if they had held some Correspondence with Us. For to justify himself as to this Unhappy Event, he did all he could to have

it thought his Men wanted Fidelity, and that he cou'd not have been beaten without Treachery. This Succours gave some respite to the Besieged, but did not wholly free 'em from Disquiet, the Garrison being become more Numerous, consum'd more Victuals and Ammunition, and there coming to be a Want of all things anew, it was quickly reduc'd to the same Extremities it had been in afore. However what had happen'd having render'd *Leganez* more Vigilant and the *Germans* more careful, Cardinal *de la Valette* made divers other Attempts without Success, which made him think it his Duty to besiege some Town for the making a Diversion ; but Cardinal *Trivulce*, Commanding another Army of *Spaniards*, being advanc'd, he was afraid of Engaging in a Country where it wou'd not be in his Pow'r to have Provisions when he pleas'd. Whereupon returning the same way he came, he Encampt again in view of the Enemies, and after having observ'd their Leaguer on the side of the River, he fancy'd that if he cou'd drive them from an Island, he might the more easily relieve the Town. The Resolution being taken to attack them on that side, Skirmishes were begun in several places, for the better Concealing the True Design from the Enemies ; but having nevertheless suspected the truth, they made a Battery of Six Canons upon the Shoar of the Island, which began to fire incessantly, and to occasion some Disorder. As this Enterprize cou'd be Successfull only by surprize, Cardinal *de la Valette* sent a Counter-Order, and the Troups being retreated, he judg'd it convenient to retreat himself, his Army beginning to suffer extremely for want of Victuals. The Governour having Spirited his Garrison with the hopes of Succours, after this found it a

difficult

difficult task to prevail with them to do their Duty; Unwilling however to lose the Honour he had acquir'd by a Vigorous Resistance, 'till that seeing his Out-works won, the Place ruin'd by the Canon, the Enemy lodg'd at the foot of the Walls, part of which was already fall'n down, and in short destitute, of all hopes of Succours, he made an Honourable Capitulation.

The loss of this Place created apprehensions that it wou'd be follow'd with that of many others, but *Leganez* falling sick during these Occurrences, the Members cou'd act no longer for want of a Head, and tho' the Command was transferr'd on another, the Rest of the Campaign was spent without any Memorable Performance on either side. However we were not wanting to be menac'd with a sudden Change in *Italy*. The Dutchess of *Man'ona* being exasperated for our having put to Death the Governour of *Cazal* her Subject, underhand Sollicited Succours from the Emperour and the *Spaniards*, and tho' the *French* represented to her, that he had merited Death after what he had done, this she did not own, neither durst she disown it, for fear of veryfying the suspition we harbour'd of her Conduct, for she peremptorily deny'd that he had done things by her Order, and tho' her Proceedings did Sufficiently aver it, she wou'd needs be thought Innocent at the same time she demanded Reparation for the Death of a Criminal. In fine, her Resentment went so far, that *La Tour* then at *Mantoua*, on the Kings behalf, was compell'd to withdraw thence with his Majesties Envoy: but to prevent her executing the sinister Designs she had against the Crown, we prevail'd with the *Venetians* to put a Garrison into *Mantoua*, hoping that out of the Concern they had for the Quiet of *Italy*, they with all their Pow'r wou'd hinder the *Spaniards* from getting that Town  
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into their Possession. We had still another Remedy for the Affairs of that Country, but which came to us from a hand we durst not have expected it, for it was from our very Enemies own selves, they becoming jealous of one another, and thorough that Diffidence were a long while without making any Attempt. And indeed Prince *Thomas* and Cardinal *Maurice* his Brother being lately arriv'd in *Italy*, and already in their Thoughts devouring the Succession of their Nephew, cou'd not consent to divide it with the *Spaniards*, and the *Spaniards* not being wont to do ought without their hire, wou'd not Employ their Men and Money without deriving thence some Recompence and Profit. This misunderstanding having lasted some time, they were a long while without stirring in the least; But the *Spaniards* obstinately persevering in abating nothing of their Interests, in that they were persuaded these Princes cou'd do nought without their Aid; at last Prince *Thomas* and his Brother were oblig'd to Consent to their retaining their Conquest, but what was spontaneously Surrender'd, should be for those Princes without the *Spaniards* having any Pretentions to it. This Agreement being sign'd on both sides to the great Disadvantage of the Princes, who already by this means alienated their imaginary Dominions, they acted in concert, but not without having much jealousy of one another. However to give some Colour to their Enterprizes that were odious to all Good People, they obtain'd a Decree from the Emperour, by which the Princes *Thomas* and *Maurice* were instituted Tutours of the young Duke their Nephew, and the late Duke of *Savoy's* Will was made void, by which he had nominated his Wife, for the Guardianship of his son, untill at Age of administring himself his Government: But this Duke being of a weak complexion,

plexion, nay and sickly too, his Unckles wou'd by no means have that he cou'd live, and were very willing to reap his Succession before his Death. In the mean while as they had many Creatures, the Dutcheß of *Savoy* lay under dismall Apprehensions; she was dayly abandon'd by those she had thought most trusty, and their Carriage making her have a Diffidence of all Others, she knew not whom to confide in, nor to whom to communicate th' Affairs that offer'd: Nor had she more confidence in Cardinal *de la Vallette*, who being an Adherent of Cardinal *Richelieu*, a Minister fill'd with Ambition, only follow'd his Movements and passions; So as seeing her self so universally forsaken, she had recourse to the Viscount *de Turenne*, with whose Integrity and Prudence she was well acquainted; But this Princess having let him know the Suspicion she had of those two Cardinals, he besought her Royal Highness not to explain her mind further to him, because that being th' one's friend, and bound to serve th' Other as his King's first Minister, he cou'd not enter upon any Affair without their Participation. The Dutcheß of *Savoy* found this answer worthy of him, and not being so possess'd in her own favour, as to find any thing therein to blame, he shar'd but so much the more in her Esteem. The first Object of Prince *Thomas's* Arms was *Chivas*, and this still augmented the Dutcheßes diffidence, for the Governour suffer'd his trust to be surpriz'd, without taking order for it's Defence; but to cover the intelligence between the Prince and him, Prince *Thomas* caus'd a Gate to be broken open by a Petard, and so got to be Master of the Town. In the mean while *Dom Martin d'Arragon*, one of the Principal Commanders of the *Spaniards*, attack'd *Cencio*, but being minded to dislodge the Enemies out of a large Neighbouring Burrough,



from whence they made Excursions, he was kill'd with a Musket shot. The taking of *Chivas* renew'd the jealousy between the Princes and the *Spaniards*, Each Party laying Claim to the Possession of that Town, the Princes as pretending the Governour had of his own Accord put into their hands, th' Others grounding their Challenge upon the Petards having plaid, it ought to be deem'd as having been taken by force: But the *Spaniards* gain'd their Cause, for that the Princes were not willing to insist any further, for fear of blasting the honour of him that had Surrendred the Place to their Highnesses. During these Transactions, Cardinal *Maurice* not being so fit for Arms, that he might not remain useles, made it his business to Create Caballs up and down the Countrey, and sped better that way than he durst have hoped, for the People began to dislike the Dutchess, saying she had call'd in the *French* rather to Eat them out of house and home, than to defend them: And indeed the Army was not Sufficient to resist the *Spaniards*, and *Savoyard* Princes, whose forces augmented daily, and Good fortune has this property, that it creates many friends; they sided with that Party in whose behalf she appear'd, without considering whether that Party had justice on its side. In so great an Extremity the Dutchess knew not what to do, and having no hopes of any relief save from *France*, she dispatcht several Couriers to that Court, one while to the King, another to Cardinal *Richelieu*, to demand of them a Speedy Succours: but tho' the Couriers ever return'd charg'd with fair Promises, the Affairs the Court was ply'd with from another side, hinder'd her from seeing so suddainly the effect of them. The Duke of *Weymar*, who had acquir'd such Renown by the taking of *Brisac*, dy'd shortly after at Thirty Six years

years of Age, and left a Victorious Army, Nay, and *Alsace* too, his Conquest; for him that with most cunning cou'd get to head it. For not a Officer was in his Army capable of Supplying his Room, and Each One was more enclin'd to listen to Proposals, tending more to his particular Concern than the Publique Weal. Cardinal *Richelieu*, a Person not wont to Sleep, when the Kings Service or his own Repute had the opportunity of being improv'd, was far from letting such an Occasion slip as this, and sent at the same time to the Principal Officers of that Army, whom he dispos'd by his Money to receive such an One for General as he should be pleas'd to give them. In the Interim the late Electour *Palatine's* Son was secretly departed *England* on the same Design, Flattering himself that this Army wou'd so much the more willingly obey him, as being a Sworn Enemy of the House of *Austria*, against whom it so long had fought: but Cardinal *Richelieu* fearing he might disturb his Negotiations, had him stopt at *Moulins*, thro' which Place he had directed his Way, without the King of *Englands* Intercession, having the Prevalency to obtain his Release. Now this matter, whereon much Money had been Expended, and for which still more was Expended dayly, (For we were oblig'd to pay the Garrisons of *Alsace*) retarded the Succours of *Italy*; joyn'd to this that we had been defeated before *Thionville*, where the Marquis *de Feuquieres* commanding our Forces was taken Pris'ner. Wherefore this Army was again to be set on foot, the remains of which were in a bad Condition, but likewise to sustain the repute of our Arms in *Flanders*, where we had more advantageous Successes, for the Marquis *de la Meilleraye* had taken *Hesdin*, and being

a Favourite, the King had presented him the *Baton* of Mareſchal of *France* upon the Breach, for the giving the greater Luſtre to his Actions. However that the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* might not totatally deſpend, ſhe dayly ſuffering new loſſes, the Court reſolv'd to diſpatch to her *Chavigni*, the Cardinals Conſident, enjoyn'd with fair Promiſes: He cou'd not miſs of finding that Court under a great Affliction, for after the taking of *Chivas*, Prince *Thomas* had render'd himſelf Maſter of *Chieri*, *Montcallier*, *Juree*, *Verrue*, *Crefentin*, and ſo many other Places, that this Princeſs was upon the point of being reduc'd to the ſingle Town of *Turin*. Nay, and what griev'd her moſt, was, that moſt places open'd their Gates of their own Accord, and manifeſted ſo much affection for the Princeſs, that it ſeem'd as if they had made great gains in Changing their Maſter. Prince *Thomas*, who had great Correſpondencies in *Turin*, judg'd it then convenient to draw near that place, and the Dutcheſs fearing he might take it by main force, diſpatch'd thence her Children, whom ſhe cauſ'd to be conducted into the Fortreſs of *Montmelian*. Prince *Thomas* having taken his Quarters in the *Valentin*, dayly expected in this City Reſolutions to his advantage, but the Dutcheſs having confiſed it's Defence in Cardinal *de la Valette*, this General being ſeconded with the Viſcount *de Turenne*, took ſuch good care that not a body durſt ſtirr. Prince *Thomas* ſeeing things did not ſpeed according to his deſire, drew-off from near the Town, after having rejected Propoſals of Peace which the Dutcheſs ſent him by the Popes Nuncio. He alſo refus'd advantageous Offers made him by the King in caſe he wou'd divorce himſelf from the

*Spaniards,*

*Spaniards*, and having joyn'd the Marquis de *Le-ganez*, who had recover'd his Health, he made himself Master of *Montcalve* and *Villeneuve d'Ast*, of the latter by Surprise, and of the former by force of Arms. *Ast* was taken afterwards, or rather surrendred of it self, the Magistrates going out to meet him with a Present of their Keys. The Governour made a shew as if he wou'd defend the Cittadel, but yielded without staying 'till the Canon playd, which made the world believe that what he did was only to guild over his Treachery. The *Spaniards* seiz'd the Cittadel, and the Princes the Town, conformably to their Treaty; which reviv'd the jealousy of Both Parties, for the *Spaniards* had Ambition enough to clutch all, and the Princes on their side thinking all the Country ought to belong to them, were sufficiently vex'd to see themselves under an obligation of sharing it with others. Cardinal *Richelieu* having spyed in all places, laid hold of so favourable a time to endeavour the setting them at odds; but they were at a loss what course to take, knowing his Ambition, and fearing his deceiving them after having got of them what he pretended: What gave them still the more apprehension was, that they knew he sought to make them jealous of one another, and that while he made them Proposals to Both in Common, he made others to Each in Particular, seeking only to sow Division in the Party. And indeed not prevailing in his Design of getting Prince *Thomas* over to his side, he had levell'd his Intrigues upon Cardinal *Maurice*, into whom he had endeavours us'd to insinuate, that being as he was the Eldest, if any one, he ought to have Pretensions; that thus it became him not to Suffer his Brother to acquire all the Authority, while the World

World consider'd him only as a Man having a great Name, but fit for Nothing; that he must not believe that if the young Duke should chance to dye, Prince *Thomas* would not put in for a part in the Succession; that a Man us'd to Govern cou'd hardly fall again to truckle in Obedience; that, he already plaid the Master in his conferring of all Civil and Military Offices; and that, if matters were communicated to his Eminency, 'twas when they were done, and rather to have his approbation of them, than to leave 'em at his Disposal. In the meanwhile, Prince *Thomas* was bid to make a serious reflexion upon what he did, that tho' he took the Pains, he would not reap the fruit; and that after all his Industry and Endeavours, he would find he had only ruin'd his Country to enrich the *Spaniards*, and invest his Brother with the Wrecks of a state appertaining to him by Birth-right; that it would be much more Glorious for him to undertake the Protection of his Nephew and the Dutches his Sister in Law, and that he would besides find therein more advantage, that what cou'd be his meaning by augmenting the Pow'r of the *Spaniards*, and whether he imagin'd they wou'd be content with their Dividend; that he was very far from the sentiments of the late Duke his father, who had ever held for a Generall Maxime, that a Duke of *Savoy* ought Equally to distrust the two Crowns; that *France* had no other Design in this Warr than to hinder the Conquest of the *Spaniards*, and that as it became his to be the same, he ought not (if well advis'd) any longer to deferr joyning his Armes to those of that Crown. But he was so deeply engag'd with the *Spaniards*, that he cou'd not so easily disintangle himself from them, for aiming to keep him by indissoluble Bands, they had desir'd before

all things he shou'd send his Wife to *Madrid*, and fear'd they wou'd use her ill upon the least alteration they shou'd perceive in his Behaviour. Thus Cardinal *Richelieu* not in the least prevailing by this Intrigue, the juncture requir'd his bending his thoughts upon Succouring the *Duchess*, who was in Despair to see her self as abandon'd. However the two Brothers having made Reflexion that effectually they labour'd more for the *Spaniards* than themselves, resolv'd to make a Body apart of their Troups, in hopes they wou'd quickly multiply, because many of the *Savoyards* were detain'd by the same Considerations, as those which made them take this Resolution. What made them still the more desirous to separate from the *Spaniards* was, that they cou'd not agree among themselves how to employ the Army, for the *Spaniards*, aiming only at their own ends, after having open'd the passage of *Montserrat* by taking the Castle of *Montsalut*, harbour'd no other thoughts than those of making themselves Masters of *Catal*, which they consider'd as a place capable of giving Law to *Italy*. Cardinal *de la Valette* was very much puzzl'd, how with such a handfull of men as his, to oppose so many things at once, for *Trin* being surrendered to the Enemies without it's being in his Pow'r to prevent it, *Catal* was in danger of being lost, if the Viscount *de Turenne*, newly made Lieutenant General, had not brought thither a speedy Succours. *La Tour*, Commanding in *Mantona*, enter'd this place at the same time, and had it's defence recommended to him, as being then destitute of a Governour by the Duke of *Candalle's* Death, who had had that Post after the Discovery of the Conspiracy before mention'd. This Succours hinder'd the Enemies from laying Siege to't, but they

they block'd it up so close that nothing more now could enter this fastness. Cardinal *de la Valette* had writ several times to *France* for Succours, but as the Court deferr'd from day to day the sending him any, he thought himself oblig'd to abandon sundry places, and keep such only as were of most Consequence; by this means he form'd a small Body, with which if he could not keep the Field, at least was he in a Condition to traverse the Enemies Designs. At length the Court being importun'd by the Generals and the Dutchess, whose Afflictions daily augmented, sent the Duke of *Longueville* into *Italy* with a Reinforcement of Seaven Thousand men. Cardinal *de la Valette*, who with his little Army had not been wanting to recover *Chim*, had now giv'n it some days rest, when he march'd against the City of *Ast*, wherein he had some Correspondence. The two Princes of *Savoie* were in that Town, and he thought they could not save him: but they having discover'd the Conspiracy, had the Authors of it punish'd, and were upon their Guards. *La Valette* being on the way inform'd of what occur'd, shifted his Course and march'd against *Chivas* which the Marquis *de Leganex* undertook to Succour: but as he would have been very willing to have effected that Design without coming to a Battle, he drew near *Turin*, expecting that the jealousy this march of his would occasion *La Valette*, to be capable of making him raise the Siege; he also hop'd that by Posting himself between the City and him he shou'd cut off his Provisions; but *La Valette* had provided so well against all events, that pressing his attackes, he oblig'd *Leganex* to come to him, seeing that the Place was going to fall into his hands; there was some slight Skirmish between the two Armies, but

*Leganex*

*Légats* not having found it to his advantage had the grief of having lost his time. However the Princes of *Savoie* improving the time our Arms were busy'd, seiz'd on *Villa-franca* and *Nice*, thro' the fault of our Gallies, that being sent thither for the Security of those Places, were imprudently decoy'd out to Sea by some Ships that had appear'd near the Coast. The Cittadel of *Nice* made some Resistance, hoping to have Succours sent it, but it gave not Cardinal *de la Vallée* time to come thither, and the Army was still two days march distant when it surrendred. The Loss of two such considerable Places extremely afflicted the Dutchess, who saw nothing on all sides but subjects of Distrust; for *Chavigny*, who was with her demanded of her in the King's name that she wou'd put the rest of her Dominions into his hands, urging for his Reasons that as long as she was Mistress of them, the People out of the aversion they had for her, wou'd be ever making New Practises and Stirs, but when they knew that the King was so strongly concern'd in them, the fear of his Power wou'd awe 'em into their Loyalty, that there was no other means to bring her Brothers in Law to their Duty, who wou'd think more than once how they continu'd their Hostilities, seeing they had not so much to do with her as with a Prince in a State to make 'em repent sooner or later. Tho' these Reasons, very farr from being capable of persuading, had nothing but what might be baff'd by one single Word, yet the Dutchess not knowing what Course to take in the Extremity she was reduc'd to, was oblig'd to acquiesce in all we had a mind to; she remitted the Citys of *Querasque*, of *Carnagone* and of *Savillan* into Cardinal *de la Vallée*'s hands, and tho' her Ministers did not advise her to this



Resolution, she cou'd give 'em no other answer but that having trusted us with her own Person, she had nothing more to husband: However as we were far from being beloved in that Countrey, this still redoubl'd the aversion they had for her, and the Inhabitants of *Turin* seeking out for some other Protection, invited her Brothers in Law, promising 'em to deliver 'em up the Town. Yet as it was not in their Pow'r to Execute what they promis'd, by reason of the Exactness us'd in the Guard of all the Posts, resolv'd it was, that Prince *Thomas* should approach the Town with Petards and Scaling-Ladders, and they show'd him a Place by which he might hope to make himself Master of it the more easily. The matter having been projected with much Conduct, Prince *Thomas* coming on the side of the Green Bastion, there erected his Scaling-Ladders, and having caus'd his Men to mount without being discover'd, he made himself Master of the Place, without it's costing him so much as one man; He forthwith broke open the Castle-Gate with a Petard, and the noise having awak'd some Souldiers, they ran half a-sleep, but did but encrease the Victory by their Defeat. The Dutchess found all the pains imaginable to make her Escape into the Cittadel, whither Her Royal Highness withdrew almost stark Naked, having so many other Affairs in her head that she minded not her present State. The City was preserv'd Sound and Entire by the Orders of Prince *Thomas*, and it was as a Miracle that amid the Disorder and Confusion that the Darkness the more augmented, he cou'd hinder the Inhabitants from being Plunder'd. Cardinal *de la Valette* had no sooner learnt this vexatious News, than that he rais'd the siege of *Cuni*, whither he had bent his Course, after having in vain endeavour'd relieving the Cittadel

tadel of *Nice*, and being drawn near *Turin*, his thoughts were less possess'd with recovering it, than how to get the Dutchess thence, and give some Succours to what still held out. During these Transactions, *Leganex* having Notice of this great Success, quitted all other Business to endeavour the reducing the Cittadel, but in an Interview between Prince *Thomas* and him, they had again some hard Words touching this new Conquest; for the Prince pretended that having been call'd by the Inhabitants, it belong'd to him, and *Leganex* that having been taken by *Scalado*, there was no question of its falling to the King his Masters Portion. These Contests which had like to have proceeded very far, having giv'n some Breathing time, the Popes Nuncio propos'd a truce, and Prince *Thomas* being enclin'd out of the fear he lay under, that the *Spaniards* wou'd render themselves Masters of the Cittadel, some hopes there were that while the truce continu'd, we should get this Prince wholly out of their hands. In the meanwhile, the Viscount *de Turenne* had an Extraordinary Passion to leave this Countrey; and after having Writ about it to Court several times, without receiving any answer, he resolv'd to speak of it himself to the King, then said to be coming from *France*, to give the more heat to the Affairs of *Italy*; for tho' he had a strong Passion to do the Dutchess of *Savoy* Service, the goodness of his Nature did not allow him to see the Condition she was reduced to, without being struck with Grief, and without having a Design to remove from a Place where he continually had objects of Compassion before his Eyes. However as nought but pity inspir'd him with these Sentiments, he promis'd the Dutchess who reproch'd him for meaning to abandon her, that he wou'd not harbour such a thought in case she had an As-

sistance answerable to his Desires. But imagining that all the Rumours which were spread about of the Kings coming, were only to prevent her falling into the utmost Despondency, and to hinder her from coming to an accommodation with her Brothers in Law, during which Cardinal *Richelieu* endeavour'd to do her Affairs on another side.

The Truce I have newly mention'd, was only for Six Weeks, and tho' this term was very short to expect great matters thence, yet we improv'd it to advantage. Cardinal *Richelieu* considering at length, that the affairs of *Italy* were to him of as much consequence as those of *Flanders* and of *Germany*, gave order that a part of the Troups which were design'd for *Alsatia* shou'd march that waywards. This Diversion afforded the Emperour some Respite, he having already lost *Alsatia*, and was at a great plunge to oppose the *Suedes*, whose Affairs were re-establish'd in *Germany* under the Duke of *Weymar*, and under the Conduct of General *Bannier*, who had Succeeded him in the Command of the Armies. Nevertheless as he was in a state to gain by this Diversion, he highly complain'd against the *Spaniards*, saying that for their own particular Interests they car'd not tho' he had lost the Ancient Patrimony of the House of *Austria*. Now to appease a little his Complaints, the *Spaniards* sent him some Money, with a promise of aiding him Suddainly with a potent Army. And indeed they began to make many Leavies in their territories; but they were no sooner Compleat, but that their own Interests being dearer to them than those of another, they design'd them for *Flanders*, whose Conquest the King had laid aside, tho' he seem'd to apply his thoughts a little more than formerly to the Affairs of *Italy*. Nevertheless as the passes were  
Stopp'd

stopp'd up, these New-raisd forces were to be  
 shipp'd to be transported into that Countrey: But  
 the *Hollanders* having as much Interest as we to hin-  
 der their landing, put forth at the same time to  
 Sea under the Command of Admiral *Tromp*, which  
 so Startled the *Spaniards* tho' much stronger in Men  
 and Shipping, that they retir'd into the King of  
*Englands* Ports, with whom they had made an ad-  
 vantageous Treaty. Yet as the King of *England* was  
 under no rupture with the *Hollanders*, they hop'd still  
 to find some favorable Occasion to beat the *Spaniards*.  
 But the King put forty Men of Warr out to sea  
 under Colour of Securing his Coasts, and those Ships  
 being posted between the *Spaniards* and them, broak  
 all their Measures. In the mean while a thick fogg  
 arising, the *Spaniards* by favour of the *English* who  
 cover'd their Motions, attempted to pass on to  
*Dunkirk*, and the *Hollanders* not perceiving it till  
 a little late, cou'd not hinder some Ships from En-  
 tering the Port; nevertheless the greatest part having  
 been cut off before they cou'd Joyn the rest, were  
 forc'd, to fly without the *English* making any shew  
 of giving them Succours; for the King of *England*  
 against whom the *Hollanders* wou'd have been reduc'd  
 to declare Warr if he persever'd thus in protecting  
 their Enemies, wou'd not proceed openly to Hosti-  
 lities, for fear of making his People still more  
 Malcontent, they having thro' *Presbyterian* Cant  
 and Artifice been brought to degenerate much in  
 their Loyalty to the Crown. The *Spaniards* retir'd  
 again into his Ports, but seeing they spent and  
 moulder'd away dayly more and more, without  
 hopes of being able to induce the *English* to do  
 more for them, they resolv'd to return into *Spain*,  
 as soon as they shou'd find the Occasion. A mist  
 again arising at two or three days End, they fan-  
 cy'd

cy'd, that as it had been favourable to them the former time it might be still so this. But *Tramp* Suspecting their Design, having been more amply inform'd of it by some Slight Vessels, which he kept cruizing up and down, that he might have due information, set Saile immediately, and after an Engagement of Nine Hours continuance, obtain'd to sig'al a Victory that he took Sixteen Ships, and sunck severall Others. This good success was of great moment for us as well as for the *Hollanders*, for it afforded us the means of besieging and taking *Arras*, the Capital City of *Artois*, and Shelter'd the frontiere of *Italy* on the side of *Duillers*. In the mean while the King of *England* being jealous of this Conquest, was just ready to proceed to a Declaration, but Cardinal *Richelieu* who had as many Creatures in Other Kingdoms as in our own, procur'd an Insurrection of the *Scotts* against him, which giving him as much business as he could turn his hands to, he was oblig'd to leave Others at Quiet. Much about the same time was it that the *Portugals* being encourag'd by his Promises, allso cast off the *Spanish* yolk, and that he sent the Prince of *Condé* against the fortrefs of *Saiss*, standing at the Entrance into *Roussillon*: but as if fortune delighted in favouring him still more and more, it happen'd that the *Spaniards* meaning at any rate to defend that Place, caus'd a powerfull Army to march into *Catalonia*, which having laid desolate that Province by an Infinite Number of Vexations, erected a desire in the *Catalonians* to break out also into a Rebellion. The beginning of their Revolt burst out against the Count de *st. Colombe* their Viceroy, to whom they imputed most of their Sufferings, and to whom the City of *Barcelona* Especially boar a great deal

deal of ill will, by reason he had Caus'd one of it's Sherifs to be poyson'd for opposing his Intentions in the Defence of it's Priviledges. The Vice-Roy seeing the fury of the People against him wou'd have escap'd into the Arsenal, but not thinking himself there in Safety, he design'd to have embark'd upon a Galley, when he was pittiously massacred by an infinite Number of that Seditious People. Cardinal *Rubien*, wont to frame Revolts, was not wanting to foment this framed to his hand: He sent to assure the *Catalonians* of a powerfull Protection, and they having deputed some among them, he receiv'd 'em with so much honour and Caresses, that he would not have done more to the Ambassadors of the Princes ally'd to the Crown. Now having Excited so many troubles in the Dominions of our Enemies, and of those who were capable of giving them Succours, he the more efficaciously set himself to the Affairs of *Italy*. The King at the very Beginning of the Campaign had taken a Progress to *Grenoble*, from whence he had already sent Succours, and where he had seen the Dutches of *Savoy* his Sister, she being come so farr to implore his Protection: but she had not had all manner of Contentment, for such strange Propositions were made her Royal Highness, as those of admitting a *French* Garrison into *Montmelian*, and sending her Son to *Paris* to be brought up with the *Dauphin*, that she perceiv'd, but too late, the *French* had a design rather to invade her Countrey, than restore the Lawfull Master to it. However having had sufficient Constancy to resist these Proposals, in favour of which the Court offer'd her a thousand advantageous things; the King at length desisted from it, and the Brother and Sister parting afterwards so so content with

one

one another, the King return'd to *Paris*, and the Dutchess of *Savoy* to her own home. Cardinal *de la Valette* dying during these Occurrences, he left the Army under Viscount *de Turenne's* Command, he having been made Lieutenant General, but laid the Cardinals Death so much to heart, that he could not relish the pleasure he wou'd have had at another time, for his new Dignity. The Dutchess of *Savoy* being return'd, conjur'd him a-new, but with Earnest desires that he wou'd not abandon her: but besides it's not lying in his pow'r to do so without order, Cardinal *de la Valette's* Death did not allow him to desire it, not that what he had done had been out of jealousy, but because it wou'd have seem'd he had refus'd to take upon him the Conduct of the Army, for that it was a troublesome Province at that time, as consisting not of above six thousand Men, but his Prudence supplying all, he put himself in a posture of disturbing the Enemies Designs, they pretending to avail themselves of the Generals Death. However the Court had no sooner notice of this Accident, than that it nominated the Count *de Harcourt* to supply the Room of Cardinal *de la Valette*, which it would not have done, as having sufficient Confidence in the Viscount *de Turenne*, if the Concerns of his family had not been in such a state as render'd him in some manner suspected. I said before that the Count *de Soissons* was retir'd to *Sedan*, and had been Suffer'd to remain there as if nothing was to be apprehended from his Retirement, but the time and juncture having occasion'd the harbouring other Sentiments, it was believ'd that *Monsieur de Bouillon* having quitted the Service of the States, and being withdrawn to his own home, with the Marquis of *Berghin's* Daughter whom he had Marry'd, fomented his Discontents, and that they were both contriving

contriving how to disturb the Prosperities the Kingdom at that time enjoy'd. The Sanctuary which the Duke of *Guise*, and the Baron du *Bee*, who were Malecontent with Cardinal *Richelieu*, had found with him, still augmented his suspicions, and the Court fearing the Viscount *de Turenne* might Esponse his Interests to the prejudice of his Duty, it was very willing to tie his hands from doing ill, supposing him so inclin'd. In the mean while, the Count *de Harcourt* was no sooner nominated to go Command the Troups in *Italy*, but that he went away Post for the greater Expedition: He found the Viscount *de Turenne* had already atchiev'd sundry Exploits, and being very willing to Share in the honour that must thence redound to him, he went to the Army, the Command of which he took upon him. Tho' the Viscount *de Turenne* had some Occasion not to be Satisfy'd with his Arrival, he paid him all the Duties he ow'd to his General, joyn'd to this, that his Birth and Peculiar Merit challeng'd a decent demeanour to him. The Count *de Harcourt*, being the best bred of all Mankind, return'd him his Civilities with usury, but neither of 'em stopping at these outward Marks of Civility, they contracted together so strong a Friendship, as not to be able to be without one anothers Company. The Count *de Harcourt* signaliz'd his arrival with very glorious beginnings, and tho' his Army was no more than four thousand Foot and three thousand Horse, yet fail'd he not of performing Enterprises that seem'd above his forces. The *Spaniards* meaning to Cross them, advanc'd to meet him, whilst Prince *Thomas* march'd directly to the River *de*—which the Count *de Harcourt* was to pass for the making his Retreat. The Count *de Harcourt* knowing the *Spaniard* had double his Number of Men, did not think Convenient



ent to venture a Battle, and march'd away to the Bridge *de la Route* as Prince *Thomas* had well foreseen, but perceiving he was penn'd-up between the two Armys, he made hast to pass the Bridge, while the Viscount *de Turenne* by his Order intrench'd himself there to stop the *Spaniards*. He then march'd against Prince *Thomas*, who advanc'd, fancying he cou'd not miss of Victory, but fortune declaring her self in favour of the Count *de Harcourt*, as a reward for so bold an Action, and manag'd with so much judgement, Prince *Thomas* was beaten, tho' his Personal Performances were Extraordinary. As *Leganez* cou'd not be ignorant that they were Engag'd, from the Noise of Cannons and the Volleys from the Muskets which he heard distinctly, made hast to arrive at the River, and after having taken some Carriages that had not as yet had time to pass, he caus'd the Bridge to be attack'd, which was defended with great Courage. This Resistance cool'd the *Spaniards* heat, and having known Prince *Thomas* allready to be Defeated, they durst not attempt to force the Bridge, for fear of enlarging their Misfortune by some fresh Mishap. However the Viscount *de Turenne* having caus'd his Troups to pass the River, was follow'd so closely, as reduc'd him several times to face about; but the Enemies having perceiv'd by his looks there was no great matter to be got by him, left him to joyn the Count *de Harcourt*, without using any further Impediment. This Success being equally admir'd by Friends and Enemies, rais'd the Count *de Harcourt's* fame to a high pitch, and tho' the Viscount *de Turenne* seem'd to have little share in it by reason th'other had the Command in Chief, yet was part of it nevertheless attributed to him: but this the Count *de Harcourt* was so very far from

from finding fault at, he own'd himself that things wou'd no. perchance have turn'd so happily, if he had not contributed thereunto with his Courage and Conduct. The *Spaniards* joyning afterwards Prince *Thomas*, we durst not keep the Field: however the jealousy they had of one another hinder'd them from atchieving any considerable matter; and the Dutchesse taking that time to make new Proposals to her Brothers in Law, so as the world at length thought an accommodation must infallibly be brought about, considering the advantages Both Parties must thence derive; for Cardinal *Maurice* had the Dutchesse's Eldest Daughter offer'd him for a Wife with a considerable Portion, and as he had his mind possess'd with an opinion that the Young Duke of *Savoye* cou'd not live, he thereby secur'd to himself the Succession. On the other side they offer'd Prince *Thomas* to dismember the Dutchy, and to invest him with the Sovereignty of some places. But these Princes began to become jealous of one another, thro' these Proposals, which wou'd severally have fitt'd their turns, but displeas'd 'em in Common, out of the Passion each had to attribute to himself the Sovereign Pow'r; at last they began to harbour a Diffidence of one another; and *Lopez*, not having 'till then been able to obtain their Consent to his laying siege to *Casal*, took so favourable a time to attack it. The *Spaniards* had ever consider'd that Conquest as the most important they could make in *Italy*: but fancying it cou'd not miss falling into their hands, after the Count de *Harcourt's* retreat and the Bickerings of those two Brothers, they march'd thither with such great Confidence, that they neglected taking a world of Precautions needfull to their Enterprize. But what made them believe it the more certain atchievement,

atchievement, is that the Garrison was weak, and that  
*La Tour* the Commander of the place had reason  
 to distrust the Inhabitants, the most part of whom  
 held Correspondence with the Dutchess. Thus by  
 minding affairs within doors, this Governour, as I  
 may say, forgot affairs without doors, and gave  
*Leganiz* time to make his approaches. *Leganiz*  
 seeing every thing contributing to his Success,  
 press'd on his point, and met with no other Im-  
 pediments than the wonted inconveniencies of the  
 Season, not much advanc'd as yet. In the mean  
 while he dayly expected the Tydings of *Rossig-  
 nans* being taken, having sent thither a Detach-  
 ment by reason it might have obstructed and Cut off  
 Provisions from going to his Army. *Rossignans* was  
 only a plain Castle, but tho' the Garrison had not  
 any hopes of Succours, yet it hold out longer than  
 expected, nay and beyond *La Tour's* hopes.  
*La Tour* took thence occasion to Encourage his  
 Men, and after having made sure of some Per-  
 sons to him suspected, he began to shew him-  
 self on the outworks oftner than he had done  
 afore. His Presence made the *Spaniards* find more  
 Obstacles, and beginning to fear the Siege might  
 spin out into a Length, they work'd with great  
 Care on the Lines of Circumvallation, on which  
 they work'd afore only for fashions sake: but as  
 it was not a work to be done in one day, by rea-  
 son of the situation of the Places, the Count de  
*Harcourt* having drawn out the most Garrison  
 he possibly could, he march'd Day and Night, and  
 came before it was finish'd. Whatever Confidence  
 the *Spaniards* might have had at first, they were  
 nevertheless Surpriz'd; for tho' he had but Seven  
 thousand foot, with little less than four thousand  
 Horse, they were Sufficient however to attack their  
 Quarters,

Quarters, that were remote from one another, and not equally intrench'd, they requir'd a great many men in such Places where the Lines were not yet compleated, and thus unproviding most of the Others, these latter were under so great a Dread of being attack'd, that the presence of our men was sufficient to Defeat them. All things being thus in disorder & Confusion, it was easy for the Count *de Harcourt* to promise his men the victory, they being already sufficiently animated by the sight of the Enemies. The greates tdifficulty was how to get them near, for the rains had so Spoil'd the ways, especially about the town, that it was no small Difficulty to bring the Canon thither; Yet it was a necessity, because if ours cou'd attain to make a Battery upon a little Mountain on this side the Lines, they might fire thence upon the Spanish Camp, and incommode them Extremely. Count *Harcourt* having thereupon contriv'd all imaginable Means to overcome that Difficulty with Others that offer'd themselves, at length the Army came in view of the Enemies, and seiz'd on some rising Grounds within Canon-shot. They rais'd there a Battery at the same time, which fir'd into the very trench, so as that the Men there a Working, being besides to be upon their Guard against the Besieged, were under an Extreme Peril. *Leganez* knew not what to do to re-incourage his Men, whose fear was Extraordinary; seeing they were upon the Point of being defeated, for not a man cou'd stirr now out of the Lines to fight, being shut up so Close, that before they cou'd have been drawn up in Battalia, the Enemies had fall'n upon them; Yet making a Virtue of Necessity, he re-inforc'd those Quarters that were most Expos'd, and shew'd himself indefatigable by the pains he took. He told his Men that if they cou'd resist the first fury of the French, they wou'd

wou'd quickly retreat for want of Provisions, and that after that the Place being in still greater want than the Army, wou'd of it self fall into their hands; that this was the means to finish the War of *Italy* all at once, which otherwise wou'd last a whole Age; that they were much more Numerous than the Enemies, and that tho' they seem'd remote from one another, he had nevertheless taken Care for their giving one another a mutuall Relief. But the Count *de Harcourt*, without losing time thus in useless words, fought already with much Courage and Fortune, he routed all that made head against him, and the General Officers doing as much after his Example, so great a Disorder was there on all sides among the *Spaniards*, that it cannot be said, who fled first; many were kill'd without fighting, Others fled after the first discharge, and all in general shew'd so little Courage, that its above wonder they lost the day so soon. The *Germans* made a little more resistance, but seeing themselves abandon'd, they betook themselves to their heels as well as Others, so as if they had been pursued, they'd have all been Cut in pieces. The Night coming on hinder'd the Count *de Harcourt* from pursuing his Victory, besides he fancy'd he had done sufficient in having reliev'd *Casal*. However meaning to make advantage of the Consternation the Enemies were in, he conceived a Design which some accused of temerity, tho' the Success surpass'd his hopes; this was to beleaguer *Turin* in which Place were all the forces of the Princes of *Savoy*, and where Prince *Thomas* had shut up-himself, for how, said they, can we hope for any Success from his Enterprize, he having but ten thousand men, being oblig'd to a great Circumvallation, besieging a Place Defended by a Prince, and where the Garrison falls little

the short of his forces, and who in a word has so utterly  
 defeated the *Spaniards*, but that he ought to apprehend  
 their returning to besiege him himself in his  
 Camp. And indeed *Leganéz* had no sooner notice of  
 his being before the Town, but that he comforted  
 himself for the disgrace that had newly befall'n him,  
 as if he had been sure of a very speedy retaliation.  
 Yet as he had experimented his Enemies Courage, he  
 wou'd not be guilty of any neglect, and having  
 strengthened his Army with some Succours that came  
 to him from the Land of *Milan*, he march'd in such  
 great Confidence of the victory, that he sent word  
 to Prince *Thomas* Suddenly to see the younger Brother  
*la Perle* pass for that he cou'd no longer scape  
 them. This name the Count *de Harcourt* had given  
 him, for that he was the younger Brother of his House,  
 and that he wore a *Perle* in his Ear. But the great  
 Actions he had already done with those he since per-  
 form'd, Occasion'd his quickly having another name  
 conferr'd on him, and that instead of calling him the  
 younger Brother *Perle*, they call'd him the *Perle of*  
*Younger Brothers*. Being not ignorant of the Greatness  
 of his Enterprize, and that it's accomplishment must  
 necessarily require a Considerable time, he neglected  
 nothing on his side either as to fortifying his Camp,  
 or depriving the Enemies of the means of injuring  
 him, and of making a long resistance. He diverted  
 the Course of the River *Doria* on which were the  
 Mills of the Town; but seeing that the Besieged  
 brought it again into its wonted Bed, he caus'd a  
 Battery to be rais'd against those Mills, which were  
 so ruin'd by the Canon, as made 'em unfit for any  
 use. In the mean while to favour his Approaches,  
 he made himself Master of the Bridge upon the *Po* by  
 the Convent of the *Capuchins* and of the *Valentine*. But  
 after having surmounted these Obstacles, there arose

a thousand Others, the least of which was capable of paulling his Courage, if he had had less than what he possess'd. He dayly sustain'd the Sallyes of the Besieg'd, and had bus'ness sufficient to repell them and mind his Lines, which *Leganez* threatned every moment to attack. The Viscount *De Turenne* was a great help to him in all things, and he employ'd him more willingly than others, either that he had more Confidence in him, or that he knew him most Zealous for the Enterprize. *Leganez* in the mean while being come near with Eighteen thousand Men, made a show as if he meant to recover the Bridge, but after having attempted it in vain, he thought he shou'd do better to go pass the River at *Montcaillier*, from whence he might afterwards relieve the Town more easily. This Design was not so secret but that it came to the Knowledge of the Count *de Harcourt*, and of the General Officers, the most part of whom advis'd him to take so favourable a time to make his Retreat; for to what purpose, said they to him, shou'd you persevere any longer in a Design, wherein was nothing but shame to receive and blows to be got; that his Army was rather besieged than besieging; that Hunger kill'd equally Men and Horses, and that the not embracing so propitious an occasion was designing it's Ruine. But this Prince having a Courage above all difficulties, not suffering himself to be seduc'd by their Remonstrances, sent the Viscount *de Turenne*, who had ever been of his opinion, to burn the Bridge of *Montcaillier*, that was only of Wood, and having now nothing to struggle with but hunger, he shew'd his Souldiers by his own example that it became 'em to be contented with a little, when the King's service so requir'd it. He had now nothing but Herbs serv'd up to his Table, and his men seeing it wou'd ill become

become 'em to complain while he shar'd with 'em to the utmost inconveniences, liv'd likewise upon Herbs, and by degrees grew accusom'd to so insipid a nourishment. *Leganez*, having found the Bridge of *Montcalier* burnt, turn'd back, leaving *Carlo de la Gatta*, one of his Principal Officers to repair it. This oblig'd the Viscount *de Turenne* to have an eye to what he meant to do, and stopping on the other side of the Water, there was no likelihood but that there must be a Brush. During these occurrences *Gatta* discover'd a Ford a little high'r, but durst not undertake to pass it in the Viscount *de Turenne's* presence, and chose rather to make use of the Conveniency offer'd him by certain little Islands for the covering his Motions: Having seiz'd those Isles by main Might, the Viscount *de Turenne* wou'd have dislodg'd him thence, but having been Wounded, his men were dis-heartned by this Accident; and the Viscount *de Turenne* being disabled from Action, *Gatta* laid his Bridge by the means of these Islands, which serv'd him for shelter and a Retreat. The Bridge being made, *Leganez* caus'd his Army to pass it, less with Design however of fighting, than of distressing and shutting-up the Count *de Harcourt* in a narrower compass, he seeming to be reduc'd to the utmost extremities, for he had been forc'd to take Provisions out of the Cittadel of *Turin*, and other the Places he held in the Neighbourhood, to supply the room of Herbs, of which he began to be in want. Wherefore it was *Leganez's* his opinion to have him by Famine; but Prince *Thomas*, who suffer'd on his side, and thro' scarcity of Victuals fear'd losing the affection born him by the Inhabitants of *Turin*, was of a different sentiment, and signify'd to him that without a speedy Succours he wou'd proceed to an accommodation with his



Sister in Law : Nay, he gave him but four days time, and *Leganex* knowing him to Entertain sundry Dissatisfactions, and that he, perhaps, only sought after some Pretexts to Change his Party, he resolv'd both contrary to his own sence, and to what reason requir'd, to attack the Count *de Harcourt*. This Prince being upon the point of dying of hunger, and had been already advis'd rather to implore the Enemies Mercy, than see his Army Perish, seeing his Destiny wou'd depend thenceforward on his Courage, found now Comfort after all his Sufferings; Yet he stood in great want of the Viscount *de Turenne*, whose Wound detain'd him in Bed, he view'd and Consulted with the Other General Officers what was to be done, and gave them each their Posts. But the Viscount *de Turenne* unwilling to remain Idle while any thing was to be done, left his Bed, and was not one of those from whom he deriv'd the least Service. *Leganex* march'd in the mean while with all his Troups, and had agreed with Prince *Thomas*, that while he attack'd the Lines on his side, He shou'd make a Vigorous Sally on his; but Prince *Thomas* making a little too much haste was repuls'd with some loss, and this Success having giv'n Courage to our Troups, they receiv'd *Leganex* with so much Vigour, that if *Carlo de la Gatta* had not forc'd the Post *de la Purpurato*, which he attack'd, he would have been Ev'ry where beaten. But for prevention sake they in the Camp had fell'd many Trees to stop the way to the Town, and this Contrivance having hamper'd *la Gatta* in some Perplexity, gave the Count *de Harcourt* time to Spur-on thither with part of his Horse. *La Gatta* was roughly handled: But Prince *Thomas* having at length found the means to open to himself a Passage, came in to his Succours, and after having fought in Conjunction

with

with him without being able to break our Horse, they both retreated into the Town. *Leganex* thinking this Sufficient to produce the raising of the Siege, order'd the Retreat to be sounded, and having pass'd the *Po* again, seiz'd on certain Hills and Rising Grounds, from whence he saw not only into the Count *de Harcourt's* Camp, but also into the very Town. But things fell out quite contrary to his Expectations. For *la Gatta* and his Men having only serv'd to consume the Provisions in *Turin*, the inhabitants began to murmur against the *Spaniards*, and Prince *Thomas* gave him once more to understand, that unless he found the means to relieve him with an Other Succours he must Surrender very Suddainly. *Leganex* having Experienc'd how difficult it was to force the Count *de Harcourt's* Camp, knew not what to promise him, and from day to day deferr'd attacking it, hoping the same things which oblig'd Prince *Thomas* to make him those Demands with so much Earnestness, wou'd oblige the Count *de Harcourt* to raise the Siege. But the Viscount *de Turenne* having taking upon him to Conduct a Convoy to the Camp, having accordingly brought it thither in Safety, his hopes vanish'd in such manner as rend'ed him well pleas'd with the Promises made him by a certain Ingenier, of Conveying meale to the Besieged, by the means of some Mortar-pieces of his Invention, the tryall of which was made at the same time. And indeed they receiv'd some feeble Succours from this Contrivance, but all the Mortar-pieces not producing the same effect, a great part of the Bullets wherewith they were charg'd, fell into the Count *de Harcourt's* Camp, thus he at the same time he admired, received Comfort from the Invention. *Leganex* not finding this turn to Account, rely'd no longer so

much upon these Mortar-pieces, for as much as another Accident had thence befall'n him, for as the Bullets contain'd Letters as well as Meal, the Count *de Harcourt* got thence intelligence, which it much concern'd the *Spaniards* to have had conceal'd. In the mean while, the want of Victuals augmenting dayly in *Turin*, Prince *Thomas* resolv'd to send away *Carlo de la Gatta* with all the Men he brought, thinking he had Enough without them for a good Defence. *Leganez* being in no wise minded to oppose this Design as the only means he had left to Satisfy Prince *Thomas*, he again pass'd the *Po*, and come and attack'd the Lines of Circumvallation defended by the Count *de Harcourt*, while *Carlo de la Gatta* being sustain'd by Prince *Thomas* march'd against those of Contravallation, where the Count *du Plessis Praslin* was advanc'd with a part of the Cavalry. *Leganez* his attacke being only to favour the other, was not difficult to sustain, but the Count *du Plessis* found it a harder task to resist *la Gatta*, who after having opened himself a passage, broke thro' Squadrons, and at length was going to joyn *Leganez*, what ever obstruction was endeavour'd to be us'd, if he had not found a Meadow all Cover'd over with Water, wherein his Horses were laid fast in the Mud; He wou'd have sought out another Passage, but seeing our men fell upon him from all sides, he retreated into the Town, and had much ado to make his Escape. It fail'd but little of his being deny'd Admission, for the Inhabitants seeing themselves Expos'd by his Return to a new Misery, knew not whether to treat him as a friend or Enemy, this last Quality, as they thought better becoming him, since that thitherto far from having giv'n them any Succours, he had only serv'd to augment the Number and bitterness of their sufferings.

Two or three days after this, did they in the City, and those in *Leganez* Camp remain still without making any new attempt, but this General seeing that the Count *de Harcourt* had so fortify'd his Camp on that side where *Gatta* had endeavour'd to joyn him, that it was as a thing impossible to force it, he went to view the Posts of the *Valentin*, and of the *Capuchins*, and fancy'd he might slip between both, if Prince *Thomas* made himself Master of some forts built on purpose to render this Passage the more Difficult. Both having agreed on this Enterprize and on the signal they were to give Each Other. Prince *Thomas* caus'd the Forts to be attack'd, and tho' bravely defended by those within, they were won by dint of Sword: but the Man that had taken upon him to give the Signal, being kill'd in the Occasion, *Leganez* could not be inform'd of what occur'd, and Prince *Thomas* taking it to be his fault, caus'd his Men to retreat after having Blown-up the Forts. The Count *de Harcourt* having been in Continual Allarums from the beginning to the End of the Conflict, seeing it terminated without other disadvantage, took Care to erect again New Forts, and provided them with more Men. Yet was he upon the Tenters, having no rest-day or Night, nor had he had more since the beginning of the Siege; nor far'd it better with the General Officers. But none Suffer'd more than the Viscount *de Turenne*, whose health was not over-well Confirmed: For besides his Wound he had a lingering feavour which wore him away by little and little. The Count *de Harcourt* advis'd him to withdraw, untill he had attain'd a perfect Cure, but he begg'd him not to mention that to him, as long as he had such important matters on his hands, and he perform'd the service Equally with

Persons in Good Health. So much circumspection had like to have cost him his Life; for being his turn to march, the Count *de Harcourt* commanded him to go meet a Convoy coming from *France*, and of which the Marquis *de Villeroy*, had taken Care as far as the Frontier. He obey'd notwithstanding his Indisposition: But the hardship he underwent for fifteen days together, with Continuall Rains, brought him so low as forc'd him to betake himself to his Bed at his Return. Yet his Illness was more tedious than dangerous, but troubled him however, Extremely, for he fancy'd not that all must go ill without him, but that, in whatever Condition, he was bound to be present in all Occasions, for which reason he wou'd have risen ever and anon, and the Physicians forbidding it had been to no purpose, if the Count *de Harcourt* had not joyn'd his Commands to their Prohibitions. The Poor Patient said, he was unhappy, he who had ever been in good health when he had had nothing to do, to be now Compell'd to lye in his Bed when his Honour was at stake. At each discharge of a Musket he rais'd himself up, and ask't for his Cloaths, and tho' inform'd there was no Action, yet would he not believe it, till he had it confirm'd to him by some Person of Authority.

The Convoy he had brought to the Camp was a mighty Succours to the Count *de Harcourt*, for not only was it compos'd of the Provisions necessary, but also of four thousand Men, which were a great help to him to Line such Posts as were unprovided. Several Persons of Quality came besides from *France*, either to be present at a Siege that made already so much Noise, or to please Cardinal *Richelieu* then uneasy about its upshot: For besides his having reason to be concern'd for't as Principal Minister, he

he had Marry'd one of his Nieces to this Prince, and wou'd have been sorry that after having acquir'd so much fame in *Italy*, for want of Succours he had miss'd a Place that wou'd Cover him with an immortal Honour. These new Comers were dayly in the Viscount *de Turenne's* Tent, and hearing them say the Enemies were to make a New Effort, he got up, say they what they wou'd, and repair'd to the Count *de Harcourt's*. This General ran to Embrace him as soon as ever he came within his ken, but backt his Caresses with obliging Reproaches, and feign wou'd have had him return'd to his Tent : but the Viscount *de Turenne* made him answer that his face was not to be minded, and that his Arm wou'd have Sufficient strength when requir'd by the Kings and his Service, the Count *de Harcourt* embrac'd him anew, and having not been able to persuade him to a Compliance with his desires, he sent him to perform his Charge. This Permission which he gave him seem'd to be more healing to him than all the Remedies he cou'd have taken. His Countenance chang'd in a little time, and God having granted him the recovery of his Perfect health, he show'd himself so vigilant in all things, that the Count *de Harcourt* was afraid least this might occasion him a Relapse. But the Siege was now to be of no long Continuance, for Prince *Thomas* having no more Victualls for so Numerous a Garrison, and seeing no hopes of getting any by *Leganez* his procurement, who had made diverse New Attacks without Success, he capitulated at last notwithstanding the Protestations of that General, who had indeed some distresses in his Camp, but nothing comparable to those they in the Town had so long Suffer'd. This Capitulation, in which *Mazarin* who had been sent

sent by Cardinal *Richelieu* on purpose into *Italy*, had a great share, gave great Umbrages to *Leganes*. And indeed he knew this Minister had made Sundry Propositions to Prince *Thomas*, nay, and that this Prince had giv'n 'em so farr a hearing, that he had promis'd to put himself under the Kings Protection with his Wife and Children, provided he might have left to him the Places he possess'd. They lay too he had promis'd to joyn his forces with those of the Count *de Harcourt* to wage Warr in Conjunction upon the *Spaniards*; but whether it be so or not, or that he cou'd not perform this Design, before he had got his Wife out of their Hands, who was at *Madrid*, as I say'd afore, he enter'd into New Engagements with them, and continu'd his Hostilities, as he formerly had done. Nevertheless he made a Truce with his Sister in Law, during Endeavours which were us'd to reduce him to his former sentiments, by offering him still greater advantages both for himself and for his Adherents: but he still wav'd Compliance on the score of his Wife, who was narrowly guarded in *Spain* as a sure Pledge of his fidelity. And indeed the *Spaniards* having without much difficulty got the Wind of these Negotiations which we were not over-Exact in Concealing on our side, that so we might render him suspected, fancy'd this to be the only means to keep him Close to their Combination.

The Success of *Turin*, and the raising the Siege of *Casal*, gave not only reputation to the Count *de Harcourt*, but also to the Crown; which had been sufficiently slighted 'till then in *Italy*, but seeing it to have the *Alpes* open by the means of *Pignorol*, and its Pow'r mightily augmented by the Possession of *Casal*, all Princes with Emulation courted its Protection,

Protection, and the Amity of the first Minister, to whom they attributed so many prosperous Events. Yet this did not hinder his particular Enemies from declaring against him. I have before said how that the Count *de Soissons* was withdrawn to *Sedan*, with other Persons of Consideration, and there was breaking a Rebellion then, just upon the point of breaking-out. *Mr de Bouillon* had been tampering very far in these Practices, and besides several Leavies he had made, he had also sent to the Enemies who had promis'd him great Succours. The Duke of *Lorraine*, to whom part of his Dominions had been newly restored, combin'd also with these Malecontents, and they all prepar'd for War. As it was impossible but that this must be come to the Viscount *de Turenne's* Knowledge, he lay under an unconceivable Apprehension, and dayly Expected such sad news from all these things that he had not one Moments repose. At length the Design broak out by the Troups *Lamboy* put into the City of *Sedan*, and as this Town was under the Kings Protection, which *Monsieur de Bouillon* by this means renounc'd, the Cardinal having for a while conniv'd at Passages of this nature, seeing he cou'd no longer do it at least, without betraying Weakness, caus'd an Army to march under the Conduct of the Marschal *de Chatillon*. The Count *de Soissons*, to whom, as Prince of the Blood, the Duke *de Bouillon* had deferr'd the Command, assembled his on his side, and being come in sight of one another, they fought and the Battaille prov'd fatal to Both Partys. For after the Count *de Soissons* had entirely broken the Mareschal *de Chatillon*, a certain Person calling out to him at some distance that the Enemies rally'd again, he lift up the vizor of his Helmet with his Pistol, either to take air or view the man that brought him this tydings; But the Pistol going



going off he kill'd himself to the great Grief of all his Party: Others say he was kill'd by a Trouper of the Company of *Orleans*, and some by the hand of an Assassin, hired for that purpose by the Cardinal: but I have heard it affirm'd by Persons then present, and among Others by *Lamesan*; who dy'd Sub-lieutenant of the Kings *Gendarmes*, that he kill'd himself in the manner I have now related. Thus I think it more fitting to credit those then upon the Spot, than such as speak out of passion, or upon the testimony of Persons at that time far remote. His Death did not Change the face of the Battle, but wrought a great Change in the affairs of his Party, whom this accident having plung'd into amazement or rather Consternation, gave the *Mareschal de Chatillon* time to bring his Army again on foot. The Cardinal being rid of so dangerous an Enemy sent this Mareschal more fresh Troups, and the Mareschal drawing near *Sedan* after having giv'n out the report that the King himself was going to follow with another Army, the Duke de *Bouillon* had recourse to Supplications and Prayers, and obtain'd by this Marichal, his Kinsman's Intercession, a Pardon for all that had pass'd. As for the Duke of *Lorraine* he was devastated anew of his Dominions, and pittied by none, as ever occasioning his own misfortune. The Cardinal after having so happily terminated this Affair, seeing himself above all, had a design to be reveng'd on the Prince of *Conde*, Whom he accus'd of having Clandestinely Conspir'd his Ruine, and as he never wanted a Pretext when he meant to use one, he resolv'd to revive the Business of *Fontarabia* and *Dyle*, which had been discourst to that Princes disadvantage. The Prince of *Conde* having an infinite deal of Wit, entertain'd some suspicion of what was in agitation, and attributed it to the Coldness he had shew'd to a Proposal that

that had been made him on this Cardinal's behalf touching a Match with his Eldest Son : But going one day to make him a visit, he converted his suspicions into Certainty, when he observ'd at his going away Guards had been set to secure him ; he mounted up again immediately, and pretending he had forgot something, he return'd into the Cardinals Chamber with whom he discours'd of a marriage of his Son with his Niece. This Proposition mollify'd the Cardinal, & having at the very instant sent orders to the Guards to withdraw, he reconducted the Prince of *Conde* to the very Door of his Antichamber, giving to understand by this Civility which none receiv'd from him, that a great Change was wrought in his Mind.

The Viscount *de Turenne*, whom his Brother's Concern had Extremely ruff'd, being again at rest thro' the Upshot it had had, thought himself oblig'd to make his Acknowledgements to the King, who had the goodness to declare it to have been in consideration of him that he abated of his justice : He also wrote to the Cardinal upon this matter, and this Minister having a particular value for the Viscount, and willing to Wedd him to his fortune, had him offer'd by the Count *de Harcourt* to marry one of his Kinswomen : But this Prince having more Disposition to a Single Life than to Matrimony, wav'd the Match upon account of Difference of Religion, which appearing a valuable Reason to the Cardinal, this matter did not in the least lessen the regard he had for him.

In the mean while the Count *de Harcourt* longing to take a turn into *France* to receive there the applauses due to his Great Actions, left his Army under the Conduct of the Viscount *de Turenne*, after having receiv'd leave from the Court. The Viscount *de Turenne* having not till now been Commander in Chief,  
was

was not willing to lose the occasion offer'd to acquire Glory, but took the field though it was still Winter, and having beleaguerr'd *Turée*, he shut up that Place so Close, that the Enemies believ'd it lost without a speedy Succour: But the Viscount *de Turenne* had laid his measures so well, that after they had approach'd his Lines, they durst not undertake to offer Battaile. To make a Diversion, they laid Siege to *Chivas*, whereat the Viscount *de Turenne* was not much Concern'd, as hoping before they cou'd push on their Attacks, he shou'd have render'd himself Master of *Turée*, and be in a Condition to make 'em raise their Siege.

The Count *de Harcourt* being full of Ambition, and thinking that the Honour accruing to Others, tended to the Diminution of his, in lieu of staying some time at Court he only shew'd himself there, and taking Post again, came before *Turée*, when his Presence was not in the least Expected. He found all things in as good a posture as he could wish, but pretending he had news of *Chivas* being Extremely press'd, he rais'd the Siege and march'd against the Enemies. Their Aim having been only to make a Diversion, were far from staying his Coming, & were contented with making a Detachment of fifteen hundred men, which having joyn'd the Garrison of *Turée*, came upon the Banks of the *Loire* to dispute the passage. The Viscount *de Turenne*, who had the Vanguard, seeing himself thus stopp'd, caus'd a Battery to be made of his Canon, and while he amus'd the Enemy in little Skirmishes, he sought out a Ford where he caus'd a Thousand Horse to pass; The Enemies seeing themselves nabb'd before and behind, retreated at the same time: But before they had got under shelter, the Viscount *de Turenne* fell upon their Rear, which he put to some Disorder. The Count *de Harcourt* having thus pass'd the River, without

without receiving any opposition, fram'd several Enterprizes, but not finding any one more advantageous than laying open for him the Passage of the Sea, he march'd to the little City of *Ceva*, fortify'd with a Cittadel. Prince *Thomas* made a show as if he meaut to relieve it, and advanc'd for that purpose to the very Banks of the River *Tanar*; but having found the Count *de Harcourt* on the other side, turn'd back after some Canons had been discharg'd by both Partys: After the taking of *Ceva*, the Count *de Harcourt* led the Army against *Cosny*, and Prince *Thomas* not daring to venture giving Battle, fell upon *Moutferrat*, where he sack'd some Villages: From thence he attack'd *Quierasque*, where while he lost his time, the French press'd *Cosny* that made a vigorous Resistance. Prince *Thomas* after having thus fail'd of *Quierasque*, return'd before *Chivas*, but hearing *Cosny* began to capitulate, he rais'd the Siege for the Second time, and joyn'd the Cardinal *Trivulce*, who render'd himself master of the Castle of *Moncalve*. A Conquest of such smal Concern was not capable of repairing so many losses, and Prince *Thomas* complain'd bitterly against the Spaniards; Whom he accus'd of having abandon'd him, for they had drawn part of their forces out of *Piemont*, and with them the Marquis *de Leganez*, in whose Room they had sent the Count *Sirovela*, a man more of the Cabinet than of expedition; But they cou'd not do otherwise by reason of the Insurrection in *Catalonia*, the most of whose Towns had put themselves under the French King's Protection. The Marquis *de los-Velez* had the Supreme Command of the Spanish Arms in that Province, and endeavour'd to reduce it to Obediance, one while by Mildness, and then by main force. He had already brought the Inhabitants of *Torres* to repent their fault, and exci-  
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ted those of *Terragonna*, among whom he had many Creatures, to follow their Example: but as many oppos'd his Intentions, he was reduc'd to joyn hostilities to his Persuasions, and by these means brought 'em to his Bow. This Conquest opening him the Way to *Barcelona*, he made a show of attacking *Montjoy*, a fortress made for the Defence of that Place, and while he batter'd that fastness, he caus'd the Magistrate of *Barcelona* to be summon'd to return to his Duty. The Magistrate made answer that the Place was in the *French* Kings Possession, and that he must address himself to his Officers: but as he had no hopes from that side, he retreated with all speed, and the rather for that *la Motte Houdancourt* was then on the march to give him Battle. *La Motte* not having been able to overtake him, laid Siege to *Terragona*, but the *Spaniards* having found the means to put Succours into that place by Sea, he rais'd the Siege, and pass'd on into the Kingdom of *Aragon*, where he repair'd the Affront he had newly receiv'd by a world of considerable advantages. In the mean while Cardinal *Richelieu* imagining he cou'd do nothing more advantageous for the Crown, than to foment the Rebellion in that Province, resolv'd to make way for sending Succours thither when he pleas'd, and *Roussillon* only being capable of putting an obstacle to his Design, he sent thither Forces under the Conduct of the Prince of *Condé*, who seiz'd on some Burroughs. Nevertheless they made a shift to block up *Couilloure* and *Perpignan*, the two only considerable Places in that Province; and nothing more then impeding the Passage of the *Pyrenees*, he caus'd a considerable Body to march into *Catalonia*, which settled *Barcelona* till then disquieted by the *Marquis de los Velez*. Having thus taken

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Care for those parts, he us'd his utmost endeavours to set again on foot the Treaty that had been propos'd to the Princes of *Savoy*; and as they were dissatisfy'd with the *Spaniards*, on whom fortune seem'd to have turn'd her Back, they accepted the last Proposals that were made them, and joyn'd their forces to those of *France*, so as that they became the friends of those on whom they had made War, and made War on those, whose friends they had been a little afore. However to conferr on Prince *Thomas* the more Honour, he had the Command of the Army. But Cardinal *Richelieu* unwilling to do that wrong to the Count *de Harcourt* of making him Obey another, after having perform'd such great Actions, he made him General of an Army in *Flanders*, and sent the Viscount *de Turenne* into *Roussillon*, where was like to be the main Scene of the War. And indeed the King seeing the Prince of *Conde* more a Politician than a General, was preparing to go thither himself in Person, and was to be follow'd by the Cardinal and the *Maréchal de La Meilleraye*, who notwithstanding the Hatred born his Uncle, was generally acknowledg'd a man Skillfull in the trade of War: For he had newly taken *Aire*, a strong place in *Artois*, and tho' the Cardinal *Infant* had recover'd it, yet had he not the less repute. The Viscount *de Turenne* having ever been desirous to fight in the Kings Presence, was overjoy'd at his being Chosen to serve in his Army, and thinking he lay under an Obligation of making his acknowledgments for it to the Cardinal, of whom he had several times begg'd his favour, he mention'd it so handsomely to him, that this still the more redoubl'd the kindness that Minister had for him. In the mean while the rumour which ran of the Kings journey prov'd true, and the Viscount *de*

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*Turenne*

*Turenne* his having kiss'd Majesties Hand, this Prince took him aside, and confirm'd to him by word of Mouth what he had Written to him several times, namely that he had much regard for him, and that on his account he had so soon forgot the Offence of his Brother the Duke of *Bouillon*. The Viscount *de Turenne* not knowing what thanks and humilities to pay his Majesty for his Grace and Bounty, and as the Duke of *Bouillon* had been newly nominated to go Command in *Italy*, under the Authority of Prince *Thomas*, so many favours at a time seem'd to incapacitate him of being ever able to acknowledge such great obligations. He testify'd to the King the Sentiments he entertain'd, but the King Embracing him tenderly, told him, that he was too well satisfy'd with him, that he had it from good hands, all possible Endeavours had been us'd to Embark him in the affair of the Count *de Soissons*, but that before he knew his answer, he had rightly judg'd he would do nothing contrary to his Duty. The Viscount *de Turenne* begg'd his Majesty to believe he had never had that matter mention'd to him, but if they had he wou'd not have fail'd of informing his Majesty : But the King taking him up short, told him, that he ought to be content he was satisfy'd with his Conduct, and that as so near a Relation of his had been concern'd in that occasion, he had been the first to excuse him. In the Interim the Army assembl'd around *Perpignan*, and as we had not been able to hinder Provisions from being convey'd into that place from *Comilloure*, which was continually supply'd by Sea, the French resolv'd to attack *Comilloure*, and to shut up *Perpignan* so close, as should barr all Entrance and Conveyance into it for the future. The Marechal *de la Meilleraye* directing his March to *Comilloure* with the Viscount

*de Turenne* attack'd it on the Land side, while the Kings Fleet batter'd it from Sea. The Marquis of *Montarve* was in the Town with a strong Garrison, and had built several Forts around to hinder the Approaches. The Mareschal *de la Meilleraye* having thereupon judg'd convenient first of all to take in those Forts, sent thither the Viscount *de Turenne*, who carry'd them by dint of Sword: but before he cou'd render himself Master of the Town, the Spaniards seeing *Perpignan* lost, unless they reliev'd *Comilloure* they entred *Cani* with a Body of Horse and Reformed Officers, while *la Motte Houdancourt* who had an eye to their Motions took the Field on his side. The Spaniards who had their Design wou'd have declin'd fighting, but *la Motte* having overtaken them at a Pass, made 'em face about against their wills, and after having defeated their Rear, press'd 'em so close that he forc'd 'em to a second Engagement. The success now was as little to their advantage as before, and they lost full Eight Hundred men more. However *la Motte* not being yet satisfy'd, pursu'd 'em Night and Day into the Mountains of the *Copsi*, and having overtaken them near *Villa-franca*, he so compleated their Defeat, that what remain'd of 'em were either slain upon the spot or taken Prisoners. The King, whom this Army had giv'n some Disquiet, was overjoy'd to see it so happily defeated, and as he had already receiv'd great Services from *la Motte*, and that his last actions recall'd others into his mind, he sent him the Staff of Mareschal of France. *Comilloure* was quickly forc'd after so signal a Victory. Yet as the Marquis *de Montarve* had fulfill'd the Duty of a Good Captain, and of a Brave Souldier, the Mareschal *de la Meilleraye* wou'd not refuse him the three days



he still required before he surrendred, rather to save his Honour, than in hopes of any Succours. The three days being Expired, the Garrison march'd out, and was found still Eighteen Hundred men strong. This Conquest having much facilitated the Reduction of the rest of *Roussillon*, the Blocade of *Perpignan* was converted into a Siege, and the King meaning to be there in Person, left *Languedoc* where he had staid some time, and arriv'd at *Pia*, whither came the Mareschal de la *Meilleraye* to give him an account of all his Actions. In the mean while this Town lay under all sorts of wants, except Men; of whom it had a sufficient number, but as they had no Provisions, the *French* resolv'd not to Press it, but to husband the Souldiers as much as they cou'd. The Marquis de *Flores d'Avila* perceiving after what manner we design'd to have him, distributed his Victualls in such small parcels, that he made them last much longer than was expected, and in the interim had hopes of Succours, or of some Change in our Affairs, for the Kings health rather impair'd than augmented; and besides that of the Cardinal was in so bad a Condition, as had oblig'd him to stay at *Narbonne* where he suffer'd inconceivable pains. But what troubl'd him most, was the account he had of the Cabals then on foot against him, which so topsy-turvy'd the King's mind, that he was contriving to rid himself of this Great Man, whose exalted Genius was nevertheless the Cause of all his Prosperities. *Cinqmars* the Mareschal d'*Effiat's* Son, whom the Cardinal had been the means to introduce very far into the King's Favour, but whose Destruction he endeavour'd for a Recompence, was the most Dangerous of his Enemies. This Young Man being not content with his Favour, nor with the Charge

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of Master of Horse which he possess'd, pretended himself to the Ministry; and as he fancy'd the King near his end, he enter'd into so particular an Engagement with the Duke of Orleans, that he promis'd him not only to Kill the Cardinal, but also to do all he requir'd. The Duke of Orleans being naturally fearfull, and dreading least after the Cardinals Death his Relations and friends might take up Arms, he engag'd *Cinqmars* to send into Spain for Succours, so as while the King endeavour'd to ruine that Crown, his Brother did his utmost to uphold it. The King of Spain seeing no other ressource but this to save *Roussillon*, Entertain'd with great Caresses the Person sent him by *Cinqmars*, and promis'd him all his Demands, as well as to the Duke of *Bouillon*, unhappily engag'd, in that Affair. But the Cardinal who had Spies in all Places, having been inform'd of this Intrigue, resolv'd to go to the Army, and Cause *Cinqmars* to be Secur'd when he least expected it. *Cinqmars* having taken care to Exasperate the King against him, and knowing he was the day following to set forward on his Journey, so order'd the Matter that the King sent to tell him he should not take the pains, but remain at *Narbonne*, under the pretence however that this wou'd be injurious to his health. But this Minister understanding at half a Word, fancying himself lost after this Proceedure, pretended to need the Baths of *Tarascon*, that at all adventures he might, draw near the Province of *Dauphiné*, whose Governours were at his Devotion. However after having thus taken Care for the security of his Person, he wrote a very secret Letter to the Marechal de *Grammont*, Commanding an Army in *Flanders*, & a man entirely at his Disposall. This Marechal following his Orders, or at least as Politicians

have conjectur'd, Suffer'd himself to be beaten at the Battel of *Honnecourt*, and his Defeat having left the frontiere to the *Spaniards* Discretion, the King fancying none but the Cardinal cou'd salve up this Bus'ness, sent him Courier after Courier to desire him to return: but fearing he might not repair soon enough to him, he quitted the Siege of *Perpignan* with a Resolution to go to him as farr as *Tarascon*. On the way the Cardinal sent him the Treaty *Cinqmars* had negotiated in *Spain*, and he was believ'd to have receiv'd it from *Fontrailles*, being the same who went thither on his behalf. Be it as it will, the King highly incens'd at this treason caus'd *Cinqmars* to be taken into Custody at *Narbonne*, with *Mr. de Thou*, to whom *Cinqmars* had imparted his secret. The Duke of *Orleans* had order to Withdraw, and Letters were sent with all hast into *Italy*, with Orders to the Count *du Plessis Praslin* to Secure the Person of the Duke of *Bouillon*. This Conspiracy being thus dissipated, the Mareschal *Meilleraye* having been left before *Perpignan*, with the Mareschal *de Scomberg*, who had led thither the Troupes of his Government, plaid his part so effectually, that having hinder'd the Succours that came by Sea, he reduc'd the Town to the Obedience of his King. The Viscount *de Turenne* pretending from his Majesty the same Re-compences newly confer'd on *la Motte Houdancourt*, saw himself far from them, as soon as he was acquainted with his Brothers Case, of whom they talk'd no less than of beheading. Thus instead of the hopes with which he was animated a little while afore, he found himself Seiz'd with fear, Expecting every hour the News of his Brothers being in Prison. And indeed this Unhappy Prince, whom his Destiny had hurry'd into the Precipice, having

having as it were a Secret fore-knowledge of what was like to befall him, harbour'd no Mirth for some time past; he was wont to be affable and Courteous to all People, but his Melancholly having wholly Chang'd him, Every one perceiv'd he shun'd Company, and if the Duty of his Charge cou'd have permitted him to be all alone, he wou'd have taken the leaving him to himself as a very great Complement. As it was impossible but he must note himself this Change, he attributed it to some remorses which came upon him from time to time, for having Embark'd himself in so dangerous an Affair: He consider'd he had already several Children, and that he Expos'd them to a strange fortune, if what he had undertaken mis'd of being accomplish'd; for to pretend to any favour from the Cardinal, was a thing not to be thought of, he had had a thousand troubles to appease him the last time, and if the King had not been more indulgent than his Eminency, he wou'd never have obtain'd his Pardon. All these Considerations however held his Mind in suspence, for on another side he made Reflexion, that he should be ever Expos'd to his Caprices, and that as long as he stood possess'd of the Authority he had, there wou'd never be any safety for him. He still remember'd a saying of his Uncle the Prince of *Orange*, Namely, that he wou'd never be a Sovereign as long as he was oblig'd to remain under the Protection of *France*, which Crown was wont to appropriate to it self the things it cou'd once lay hand to. He besides remembered a thousand grating Letters he had receiv'd from the King and his Minister, wherein both of 'em spoke to him with that Absoluteness and Superiority, that they made no difference between his Character, and that of a Subject; he fancy'd at least that if

he must depend on some body, he ought to derive more regard than he did from his Dependancy, and this he hop'd to Compals by humbling the Cardinal, and somenting some Division in the Kingdom. As his mind was solely possess'd with these sorts of Reflexions, he lay under an Extraordinary impatiēce to know, whether *Cinqmars* wou'd perform his word; but having been told, it had lain in his Power several times to have kill'd the Cardinal, whom he had privately discourst, he grew sensible that people often Engage themselves to more than they mean to do, either out of Imprudence, or for want of Consideration. This failing of his Confederates word made him Prognosticate no good of the Upshot; However he seem'd absolutely re-incourag'd by *Cinqmars* his Letters, who let him know he had entirely gain'd the Kings Good Opinion, and that this Prince had refus'd to see the Cardinal. But just as he began so sooth himself with finer hopes, came a Courier to him in private, having got half an hour the start of the Messenger sent to the Count *de Pleſſis*, and acquainted him with the Wretched Estate of his Concerns. As the Peril was urging and he had no time to lose, he was allready thinking of making his Escape into the Land of *Milan*, when he knew that the Count *du Pleſſis*, after having receiv'd his Courier, had giv'n order for stopping the Passages, and had left his House with design to Execute the Orders that were sent him. In so great an Exigency he chose to hide himself in a Hay-rick; but the Count *du Pleſſis* having notice of it, had him Seiz'd, and Conducted into a place of Safety. The News of his Imprisonment being come to the Viscount *de Turenne*, it is impossible to conceive the bitterness of his Affliction. He already represented to himself that Dear Brother upon a Scaffold,

Scaffold, and being unable to dwell upon this thought without shedding a torrent of tears, he struck all that saw him with Compassion. He a thousand times Curst the *Spaniards*, by whose artifices his Brother had been will-ith-wispt into this Precipice, and knowing they were marching a Body toward Sedan to offer *Madame de Bouillon* their Protection, he dispatcht to her a Messenger, to begg her not to accept on't, unless she meant to ruine her Husband: He sent another to the Prince of *Orange* to desire him to intercede for his Brother with the King: but not relying so much upon these sort of things as to neglect those that might serve him on another side, he posted to Court, where he laid himself at the Kings feet, who being prompted by the Cardinal spoke displeasure in his looks; not prevailing with his Majesty, he had recourse to that Minister, who after having made him a kind Reception, told him, he knew very well he had no hand in all these Intrigues, and then falling to Exaggerate *Monsieur de Bouillon's* Crime after the pardon he had newly receiv'd, he askt him his own thoughts of the Case, and whether the King cou'd well pardon him, that it was a thing wanting an Example, and that he was sure, as much concern'd as he was, he wou'd be the first to approve of his Majesties Resentment. The Viscount *de Turenne* had to do with the Craftyest man upon the Earth, but on his side he had wit enough to see at what he aim'd, so as he let him talk on without giving him any Interruption: But when he had done speaking, he made him answer, that the King was too just in all his Actions for him to find fault with any thing his Majesty did; that *Monsieur de Bouillon* was really Criminal, but the King so good, that he hop'd his Majesty

jesty wou'd have regard to a poor Desolate family, whose Ancestours had render'd some services, and had the honour of being related to Princes that still, actually serv'd the Crown ; that it was rather out of Imprudence than a Premeditated Design, that his Brother was engag'd in this Intrigue, nay that he had heard it said, that bating the Treaty of *Spain* the King was privy and participated in all he had done ; that he told him not this to Extenuate his fault, but to make him observe, that having offended his Eminency more than any Body, 'twas to him particularly they address'd themselves for the obtaining of his Pardon ; that as to the Treaty of *Spain*, it wou'd not be found he had thereunto consented ; that *Fontrai's* had indeed declar'd him to be one of those that were to serve for Lieutenant Generalls in the Duke of *Orlean's* Army, but had not said he had sent him to make proposals on his part ; that it was the Duke of *Orleans* who had done all things of his own Head, and to whom the Correspondence with forreigners ought to be imputed. The Cardinal seeing the Viscount de *Turenne* did not come to his Bow, thought fitting to interrupt him, and askt how he wou'd reconcile what he said with the Promise his Brother had made of delivering up his Town of *Sedan* to the Duke of *Orleans* and his Partizans. But as the Viscount de *Turenne* was preparing his Reply, he interrupted him anew, and told him, that this Place had made his Brother so often faulty ; that it would still serve him for an Instrument to Commit new Crimes ; that the King cou'd never put any Confidence in him, or any Prince as long as they had such a Town as that at their Disposall ; that it was the Sanctuary of Rebels, and surpass'd ev'n *Rockilly*,  
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that had only afforded a Retreat to those of the Religion ; but that as for *Sedan*, the Duke of *Bouillon* offer'd it indifferently to all manner of People, sufficiently manifesting by his Conduct that his thoughts were wholly bent upon embroiling the State. The Viscount *de Turenne* did not seem to understand his meaning, and being withdrawn without having obtain'd any thing in his Brother's behalf, he again presented himself to the King to implore his Mercy ; but the King with a stern and angry countenance turn'd his back upon him, after having told him, he wonder'd he durst importune him upon such an Account as that. The Prince of *Orange* in the Interim having sent a Gentleman on that purpose to Court, had no other answer save obliging words in what related to himself, but as to what concern'd *Monsieur de Bouillon* he had for answer, the Court was very sorry he could not have granted him what he demanded, and colour'd their Refusal with the same Pretexts that had been so amply deduc'd to the Viscount *de Turenne*. This Prince presented himself dayly to the Cardinal, but this Minister seem'd to him more reserv'd, nay and of more difficult access, so as that he plainly saw the Court had set *Sedan*, as the rate of his Brother's Pardon. The *Spaniards* lay perdue, as I may say, as to this Affair ; they had made a Thousand plausible tenders to *Madam de Bouillon* : But this Princess having nothing Dearer then the Life of her Husband, had been advis'd to reject them all, and to lose rather her fortune than to see so Dear a Prince perish. At length as she waver'd between the love of her Husband and the love of her Children, whose interest did not suffer her to divest her self of her Sovereignty, she had notice that *Cinqmars* and *de Thou's*



*Thou's* Proceſs had been made, and that they had been beheaded at *Lyons*. Wherefore apprehending the like Deſtiny for her Husband, ſhe no longer boggl'd at what Courſe to take, having ſent a Gentleman to the Viſcount de *Turenne* with a Letter of Inſtructions what to do; that Prince repair'd to the Cardinal and offer'd to give him *Sedan* for his Brothers Pardon. The Cardinal, who had ever made him a very Civil Reception, was neither more or leſs Courteous at this offer, tho' Extremely acceptable to him. Yet being full of Diſſimulation, he made him answer that he knew not whether the King wou'd be therewith contented, as being extremely exaſperated againſt *Monsieur de Bouillon*; that in the fear of a refusal he was willing to tell him, as making Profeſſion of being his Friend, that it became him to employ all ſorts of Recommendations in this occaſion, and particularly that of the Prince of *Orange*, for whom the King had much regard. The Viſcount de *Turenne* thought it ſtrange he ſhou'd now make a Difficulty, after the knowledge he had giv'n him of his Intentions; but as there was a Neceſſity of Submitting to the Law of the Conquerours, he was oblig'd to ſend the Second time into *Holland*, to deſire the Prince of *Orange* once more to make that ſtep. This Prince entertaining an Affection for the Duke of *Bouillon*, he having born Arms under him for ſeveral years together, and whom, as a man may ſay, he look'd on as his ſofter-Son, having paſſ'd o're all ſorts of Conſiderations in favour of ſo Dear a Perſon, and who, beſides, was his ſo near Relation, granted the Viſcount de *Turenne* what he demanded of him, and having ſent again a Gentleman into *France*, they wou'd ſain make him believe it to be upon his Recommendation, rather than on any Other

Other account, they granted the Duke of *Bouillon* his pardon. But not a Man but believ'd the contrary, nay, and openly affirm'd *Cinqmars* to have been very unfortunate in not having had such a Place as *Sedan* to redeem his Life.

The matter being thus terminated with so much trouble, the World believ'd this to be capable of making the Viscount *de Turenne* go serve in some Foreign Countrey: But this Prince seeing his family Extremely under the Hatches, on the Contrary redoubl'd his Zeal for the Crown, hoping in time to oblige the King to distinguish it. However, he had great Mortifications, for his Brother having lost his Sovereignty, it seem'd as if his rank wou'd have been disputed which he had acquir'd by his Birth: Such as gave him the hand before, pretended now to take Place of him, or at least to be consider'd as his Equals; These Contests arose principally at Court, so as that he staid there the least he could, for at the Army the rank was regulated by the Charges, and he did not look on it as strange to Obey a Marschal of *France*, it ever having been the Practise. However, he found much had not yet been done for him, since Bodys apart had been giv'n to Persons of neither more merit nor more Service. He above all wisht to Command in *Germany*, where it seem'd to him War was better made than in any other Place whatever: But tho' the Court had born him some good will, yet what had newly befall'n him, must needs discard all his hopes. And indeed they were far from confiding in him such a Command as that, after so fresh a fault. Yet he desir'd it that he might signalize his fidelity, and told his Friends, this to be the principal reason that made him desire it. As it could not be but that he must have some Pique against the Cardinal, of whom he had  
not

not so kind an Opinion, but that he imputed to him the misfortune of his House, it goar'd him to the very Heart to be oblig'd to remain under the Command of the Marechal de Meilleraye, who was another Cardinal to the Viscount. He wonder'd that the King notwithstanding the suspicions he had against this Minister, left all his Armies under the Command of his Relations, as if there had been none in the Kingdom capable of that Employment, for the Count de Harcourt commanded one, as I have already said, the Marechal de Grammont who had marry'd one of his near Kinswomen another, and tho' he had behav'd himself so ill at the Battle of Honnecourt, as has been before observ'd, this did not prove sufficient to deprive him of his Charge. But the point the most extraordinary in all this, is that the King himself knew that during his illness before *Perpignan*, all these Generalls had made Cabals in their Armies to maintain their Kinsman in the Ministry, so as by that his Majesty might judge how fast they were link'd to the Cardinal's Service, since to the prejudice of all Tyes and Duties, their whole Endeavours had been how to preserve the Authority their family stood possess'd of. Not but that he did justice to Each suitably to his Deserts, he was the first to say that the Marechal de Grammont had a great deal of Wit, that *La Meilleraye* understood sieges to Perfection, and that the Count de Harcourt, tho' None of the Most Consummated of all Men in the Trade, had a Courage that render'd him recommendable above the Greatest Captains. And indeed this Prince had still done things in this Campagne, which had been very glorious, tho' not always attended with a prosperous Success. He Commanded in *Flanders*, as I have already said, and had found it somewhat a difficult

difficult Province to resist *Don Francisco de Melo*, General of the *Spanish Armies*, who had double his Number of Men: However he had with his Courage supply'd that want, and tho' *France* had been in great danger, especially after the *Mareschal de Grammonts* Defeat, he had hinder'd the Enemies from making advantage of their Victory, and had Confin'd their Conquests to so Scanty a Business, that we were hardly sensible of them. The truth is *Melo* had been faulty, being not to be prevail'd with to joyn the Imperiall Troupes that acted towards the *Rhine*. But this did not at all lessen this Prince's Glory, who had ever Exerted the same steddynefs, and who not being in a posture to venture a Battle, had done so much by his Address that he ruin'd the Enemies Army, and recover'd from it before the year Expir'd, all that it had been able to take during the *Compagne*. Thus we may say that this year was a most Glorious one to *France*, as having reduc'd the Princes of *Savoy*, to the Obedience they ow'd their Sovereign, conquer'd *Roussillon*, preserv'd *Catalonia*; dissipated Domestic troubles, carry'd it's Arms, into the very Kingdom of *Aragon*; and in fine augmented it's Reputation in *Germany*, without so many successes, having been Clouded with any considerable loss, unless that of the *Mareschal de Grammonts*. But this Defeat was nothing in Comparison of that of General *Lamboy*, to whom the Count *de Guebriant*, who began to render himself famous in *Germany*, had deliver'd Battle, after having render'd himself Master of *Orlingbun*; tho' he saw himself threatned on another side by General *Hatfield*, who endeavour'd to coop him up between *Lamboy* and himself. The Benefit derived from this Victory was the taking of *Witz*, of *Kempin*, and of some Other Towns of less

less Moment; joyn to this, that the Imperialists  
 had been forc'd to give breathing time to the  
*Suedes*, whom before they follow'd without inter-  
 mission. The Count de *Guebriant* had also derived  
 thence particular advantages for his own fortune.  
 For besides some benefits he had received from  
 the King, he was made Marechal of *France*. But  
 as Fortune does often grow weary of favouring  
 one, and the same Person, he was compell'd some-  
 time after to raise the Siege of *Lekenik*. He quickly  
 reveng'd himself for this little Disgrace by the  
 Defeat of *Jean de Wert*, who had like to have  
 drawn him into an Ambuscade wherein he him-  
 self was caught. The *Suedes* reveng'd him also  
 wonderfully well; for having decoy'd the Duke of  
*Saxe-Laxemburg* into a Trap they laid for him,  
 most of his men were then kill'd, and he himself  
 so dangerously Wounded, that he hardly surviv'd  
 his Defeat. Then they took *Schwitz* and *Olmutz*,  
 and wou'd have pusht their Conquests further, if  
 the Arch-Duke *Leopold* having joyn'd with *Pico-  
 lomini*, had not compell'd them to raise the Siege  
 of *Brieg*, which they had undertaken after the  
 Conquest of *O'multz*; However the same misfor-  
 tune befell the Arch-Duke's men in a while after,  
 who had undertaken to recover *Olmutz*, and had  
 also beleaguer'd *Großgloglaw*, for they were forc'd  
 to retreat from before both places, which so en-  
 courag'd the *Suedes* that they besieg'd *Leipsick*,  
 where the Canon made so great a Breach that  
 they resolv'd to give the assault: But not prospe-  
 ring in that, they rais'd the siege to go meet the  
 Arch-Duke, who advanc'd with Design of relieving  
 that Place. The two Armies met near *Brittenfeld*,  
 and having Both a Desire to come to Blows,  
 they fought it out Briskly, the beginning of this  
 Battle

Battle threatned the *Suedes* with a total Defeat; for while their Right Wing fought with an Equall advantage, their Left having lost Colonel *Selang* that Commanded it, were so disheartned that they wou'd have never rally'd, if Count *Coningsmark* had not hasten'd up to them, and done personal Wonders. Having thus restor'd Courage to those that had lost it, he caus'd a Body of Reserve to advance, who turn'd the Victory on his side, which seem'd as yet unwilling to declare itself; The Arch-Duke with *Picolomini* betook themselves to flight, and the Principall Commanders of the Army, some of whom however dy'd upon the Spott; all the Baggage was left to the *Suedes* with the Generalls Silver Service, they having had enough to do to Escape in their own Persons. After this Victory the *Suedes* laid siege again to *Leipsick*, notwithstanding the inconveniencies of the season, allready farr spent, which made the Garrison believe they cou'd never prosper in their Design, they made so vigorous a resistance that the *Suedes* were ready a thousand times to desist from their Enterprize; However standing to't, they made themselves masters of the Town, contrary to the Opinion of many People. With this Exploit did they end the Campagne of 1642. But Seasonable weather was no sooner return'd then that they augmented their Conquests with the taking of *Tornaw*, *Mellerstald*, and *Melvicke*; Then they block'd-up *Magdebourg* and *Ostervic*, and surpriz'd the City of *Halberstat*, whose Garrison they put to the Sword. *Galas* wou'd have stopp'd the Current of these Prosperities, but *Ostervic* being the Closer shut up, this did not hinder it from falling a llo into their hands. In the mean while they fail'd little of surprizing the Emperour himself as he was coming  
M
coming

coming to his Army, and if he had not turn'd out of his way, it had been a terrible augmentation to so many losses; but through a great happyness having avoided this Ambuscade, he sent his Troups against *Obmutz*, while these of the *Suedes* were Employ'd in taking of *Demitz*. The Army, we had in *Germany*, fought not with so much good luck, for it had been forc'd to detach a part to the Succours of the frontier of *Champagne*, then menac'd with an Army of five and twenty thousand men Commanded by the Count *de Fontaines*, and the Enemies had still another in *Artois* which Employ'd the rest of our forces. The Duke of *Anguien* who had hitherto serv'd only as Volentier, but in whom was not'd an Unparalell'd Courage, and a Conduct above his Age, was sent against the former, and the Duke of *Angoule'me* observ'd the other with a flying Camp: Neither the One nor Other had found Occasion to do any great matter, but the Count *de Fontaines* having beleaguerr'd *Rocroy*, the Duke of *Anguien* march'd against him, and having giv'n him Battaile, he won so signal a Victory, that the *Spaniards* cou'd not of a long while recover it. The Count *de Fontaines* was kill'd in that action, all his Infantry cut in Peices with part of the Horse, and what remain'd in such Disorder that much ado had it to scape. Then the Duke d' *Anguien* without trifling away his time turn'd his Armes against the frontier of *Germany*, and having open'd himself a passage by taking of *Thionville* and *Cirg*, he march'd to the Succours of the Marechal *de Guebriant*, then penn'd up between the Troups of *Bavaria* & those of the Duke of *Lorrain*. The Enemies not daring to stay his Coming up, he re-inforc'd the Marechal *de Guebriant*'s Army, and this having enabl'd this Marechal to make Enterprizes, he beleaguerr'd *Rotwiel*, where he was wounded with 2 faulcon Canon Bullet, whereof

he dy'd. His Death was follow'd with a sad Event, the Army that had a Wonderfull Opinion of him, having lost all manner of Confidence after his Death retracted to *Tautling*, after having however taken *Rotwiel*, and suffer'd it self to be Surpriz'd in it's Quarters by the Duke of *Lorrain*, who gave it a Total Defeat.

In the mean while great Alterations occur'd at Court, where Cardinal *Richelieu* dy'd the year last past, and the King on the fourteenth of *May* following: Nought but Cabals were then on foot, who shou'd have the Regency, and after the Example of the Court of *Savoy*, where the Unckles had sided against the Nephew, the Duke of *Orleans* was just ready to set the State in a Combustion. Not but that the King had settl'd all things before he dy'd; but none were pleas'd with his last Will, because he limited the Power of those to whom he attributed some Authority. The Queen his Widdow, being vext that he had ty'd her hands, said openly, that Tutors were rather appointed Her, than she Elected the King her Son's Tutour, and with Design of having His Will broken, she was liberall of her Carresses now to One, then to Another, and Especially to the Parliament that had much Power at that time. *Mazarin* who had render'd himself recommendable by severall Services he had done in *Italy*, and had been made Cardinal at the late King's Recommendation, was in her Confidence, with the Bishop of *Beauvais*. But this Bishop being not a man of Sufficient ability to Support the Burden of Affairs, the Other Supplanted him quickly, and govern'd the Queen's mind at his Pleasure. At length the Queen having found the means by her Addresse to Extend her Authority, thought her self oblig'd to gain Creatures, and having a most peculiar Esteem for the Viscount



*de Turenne* she made him *Marschal of France*. This Prince return'd into *Italy* after his Brothers Business, and had so won the heart of Prince *Thomas*, that he undertook nothing without him; Inſomuch that having advis'd him to the Siege of *Villeneuve d'Ast*, the Troupes had forthwith Order to march thither. This Town made but a ſorry Reſiſtance, after which they march'd againſt *Alexandria*, and having there fixt their Quarters juſt as if they meant to take it by force, it created a Phancy in the Governour of *Milan* to leave unprovided Other Places for the relieving of this. To decoy him on to this Deſign, by facilitating to him the means, ſome Interval was left between the Quarters, and the *Spaniards* having ſlipt between, imagin'd they had gain'd a mighty point, but their Enemies fell immediately upon *Trin* then unfurniſh'd of men, and where according to all appearances they cou'd meet with no great oppoſition. Prince *Thomas* finding himſelf indispos'd at the very beginning of the Siege, Committed the care of it to the Viſcount *de Turenne*, who was wonderfully well ſeconded by the Count *du Pleſſis*. All the Out-works were won with much Vigour, and the Governour of *Milan* deſpairing of being able to Succour it, march'd towards *Aſt*, and *Nice*, thinking that the jealousy this wou'd give him, wou'd oblige him to raiſe the Siege. But the Viſcount *de Turenne* having provided againſt that by ſending a Reinforcement to thoſe Garrifons, purſu'd battering the Town ſo briskly, that it Surrender'd upon Composition. This was the laſt Enterprize he was preſent at in *Italy*, for having been made *Marschal of France* a little afore, and receiv'd the Staff, he left the Army under the Orders of the Count *du Pleſſis*, whoſe Right it was to Command it.

Prince *Thomas* his Illneſs ſtill Continu'd, and though  
he

he remain'd in the Camp till the Town was taken, he had now left it for the better Convenience of his Cure. The Count *du Plessis*, who was already very expert in the trade of War, meaning to make advantage of the Season, which allow'd him still the opportunity for some Enterprize, he sat down before *Pontesture*, and having batter'd it with twelve pieces of Canon, the Beseiged Surrender'd it after having done all in their Power for a Stout Defence. These Successes were still Seconded by Others, which we had in *Catalonia* by the valour and Conduct of the *Marschal de la Mothe*, which gave so much alarm to the King of *Spain*, that he resolv'd to go himself unto his Army: But his Catholique Majestie's Presence having not been able to repair his Losses, His Councell thought it wou'd lessen his Honour to remain there any longer, so as that he return'd to *Madrid* very little Satisfy'd with the pains he had taken. This Year was there also an Engagement fought between the Fleets of *France* and *Spain*, in which all the Advantages fell on our side. But notwithstanding all these happy Events, We saw our selves daily threatned with a strange Revolution thro' the Ambition of the *Grandeess*, and the Audaciousness of the Parliaments, that under Pretence of the Publique Good, made such Continuall Usurpations, as were no longer in the Power of the Queen Mother to dissemble, for at least without suffering her Son to fall under the same Destiny with the King of Great *Brittain*, whom the Parliament of *England*, Aim'd at Robbing of his Crown, as they at Length robb'd him of his Life, she was timely to oppose all these Innovations that were odious to all Honest People. On the other side it was needfull to provide against the necessities of the Leaguer in *Germany*, whose wrecks were Retreated on this side the

*Rhin*, without a Head, without Arms, and without other Reputation than that of being the wretched Remains of an Army, formerly the terrour of the whole Empire, for in truth these were the men, with whom the Duke of *Weymar* acquired so much Glory, and the Mareschal *de Guebriant* had render'd himself so recommendable. This *Monsieur de Guebriant* after having serv'd for Mareschal *de Camp* in the *Valtelline*, had been sent into *Germany* to Command under the Duke *de Longueville* ; But this Prince refusing to obey the Duke of *Weymar*, and the Duke of *Weymar* to receive him for his Partner, *Guebriant* had of a sudden Mounted a Degree ; and the Duke of *Weymar* dying shortly after, as I have before related, His Merit occasion'd that no other than himself was pitch'd on to Confide in the Command. But to leave this point, the business now being to Supply a Place that had been possess'd by two such great men, the Queen-Mother made choice of the Viscount *de Turenne* to the Great Contentment of the Army, and of the Princes ally'd to the Crown, to most of whom he had the Honour of being related by his Mother's side. As soon as he had been nominated to that Employment, he repair'd immediately to the frontiere, where he found things in so bad a posture, as required his Wisdom and Conduct to restore them to any good estate: But as nothing seem'd to him impossible when the Kings Service was the point in agitation, he Surmounted these Obstacles by his Cares and Patience, inso-much that all began to Change face : The greatest Difficulty was to find Money to Cloath the Souldiers then stark naked, for thro' the Disorder the Court was in at that time, it had been forc'd to bestow its Liberalities on the several Parties, and for prevention of Mischief had incapacitated it self from remedying what was most pressing. Besides Cardinal

*Mazarin*

*Mazarin* having got an Absolute Ascendant over the Queen, had lavisht the Moneys in the Treasury to gain Creatures to himself, and she was so prepossess'd in his favour, that she imagin'd it to be for the Interest of the State, tho' it was only for the private Interest of the Minister. Thus all these Disorders having reduc'd the Army in *Germany* into the Pittious Estate I have newly Represented, the Viscount *de Turenne* was oblig'd to borrow a Considerable sum upon his own Credit, and making also use of some Money which the Queen-Mother had made him a Present of before his Departure, he laid out both in Cloathing the Souldiers and in the Other Necessities of the Army. This once done, he caus'd it to pass the *Rhin*, as believing that after what had happen'd the Year afore, it behov'd the Kings Reputation, and principally of his Minority, to re-incourage his Allyes, who seem'd still all in a maze at the last Defeat. Now to make a powerfull Diversion, the Queen-Mother wisht that the Duke *d'Anguien* would likewise repair to the frontier of *Germany*, where the whole Strefs of the War was like to be; not but that she likewise meant to make some effort against *Flanders*, but she cou'd in no wise decline promising the Duke of *Orleans* the Command of the Arms on that side, and he was already preparing to take the Field at the head of an Army of Twenty Thousand men. The Siege of *Gravelines* had been resolv'd on at *Paris*, for which reason he directed his way thither after having detach'd the Mareschal *de la Meilleraye* to secure the Passage, and take in some Forts that might be some Obstruction to his Enterprize, that of *Gaiette* was won first, and by that means did they cut off from the Enemies the Communication with *St Omer*, and procur'd that with the

Mareschal de Gassion, who was hovering up and down with a flying Camp. Those of *Gravelines* having by this step perceiv'd the Design to be levell'd upon them, let open their Sluyces: But the Duke of *Orleans* having found the means to draw off the Water, invested the Place on all sides, and had his Canon brought up with much Difficulty, for the ground being thus soak'd, sunk under the Horses, and they were so tyr'd that it requir'd twice the ordinary number. However all these Difficulties being overcome by a little Patience, they reduc'd the other Forts that were around the Town, and tho' they could not hinder Succours from getting into't, yet was it so briskly attack'd, as compell'd it to Capitulate. This siege having lasted some time, and cost a Great many Men, hinder'd the Duke of *Orleans* from daring to engage in any other Enterprize, Especially having *Picolomini* to oppose him; Besides all this he had a hankering to return to Court thereto wrest new favours, for he had rather sold than granted his Protection to Cardinal *Mazarin*, so as that this Minister had been oblig'd to give way to all his Pretensions, so far as to grant a Patent of Duke and Peer to one of his Favourites. The Prince of *Condé*, seldom letting slip any opportunity of improving his Interests, in like manner sold his favour to this Minister, and refus'd him nothing, provided he paid roundly for it; and indeed he ever sold it him as Dear as possible he could, for as he was considerable of himself, and gain'd dayly more and more regard by the Merit of the Duke d'*Anguien*, he fancy'd all things were due to him. The Cardinal saw himself in truth at the head of Affairs, but was reduc'd to such an Exigency, that all the pains he took was for Others. And indeed

deed the Duke d'*Anguien* himself, prompted per-  
 chance by these Examples, or perhaps also because  
 his Father was not over-Liberal, had not been so  
 strongly affected with Glory, to which nevertheless  
 he was very sensible, as to be prevail'd with to  
 be gone without that Ministers having giv'n him  
 wherewithall to supply to a Great Expence.  
 Thus all the Treasures were for these Three  
 Princes, and as the Cardinals own affairs were not  
 in over-good terms, and that he had as good an  
 Appetite as Others, he on his side appropriated to  
 himself all he could; Insomuch that the finances be-  
 ing thus unprofitably Squander'd away, recourse  
 was to be had to Edicts, which made the People  
 Clamour, and render'd his Ministry Extremely Odi-  
 ous. Not a man of 'em besides the Viscount de *Tu-  
 renne*, who Neglecting his own Interests, only  
 Study'd those of the Crown, tho' the Consideration  
 he was in, might have made him hope as well as  
 Others to have gain'd by the Weakness of the Mi-  
 nistry, for the Grandees after the Example of the  
 Princes set their Services at a Price, and in Case  
 the least Neglected, they fell into Caballs, which  
 made the Cardinal quickly recall them, with a  
 grant of still more than they had demanded. The  
 Duke d'*Anguien* after having obtain'd what he de-  
 sir'd was departed for the Army, and having caus'd  
 it to pass the *Meuse*, he joyn'd the Count de *Marin*,  
 who brought him a Considerable re-inforcement.  
 General *Bek* being to observe his Motions re-  
 treated from before him, and being under ap-  
 prehensions for the Towns in *Luxemburg*, he pro-  
 vided them with Men: But this Princes Design was  
 not to stop so near at hand, and he had reasons  
 which oblig'd him to pass on. The Imperialists to  
 give the *Suedes* work, had set upon them their  
 Ancient

Ancient Enemies the *Danes*, who having no want of Pretexts to declare Warr against them, made so powerfull a Diversion of their forces, that hardly any of 'em were left in *Germany*. Thus the Viscount *de Turenne* found no small Difficulty to resist with Six or Seav'n thousand Men, the forces of *Bavaria* and *Lorrain* that were joyn'd together, for as to those of the Emperour, the Prince of *Transilvania* had been rais'd up against them, and he gave them Sufficient Employment: Thus the Warr was extended into so many Parts, that one wou'd have said Men had been bent upon Worrying one another. In the mean while the *Hollanders* gain'd dayly by these Disorders, and by little and little settled their State, which we have since seen so flourishing. As for Us, besides Domestique troubles, some Sparkes of which were already perceiv'd, the Affairs of *Germany* began to render us uneasy. The Viscount *de Turenne* with all his Experience and Capacity found himself so weak as has been already hinted, that he was oblig'd to retire upon the *Rhin* and put himself under the Shelter of *Brisac*, while the *Bavarians*, and *Lorrainers* being pult up with some petty Advantages they had gain'd, march'd with displaid Ensignes against *Fribourg*. As their Forces were Numerous in Comparison of those of the Viscount *de Turenne*, he durst not venture a Battail, but neglecting nought of what cou'd serve for the Defence of *Fribourg*, he provided it with men, Provisions and Ammunition, and keeping hovering himself, he sent to the Duke of *Anguena* to advance with all speed. This young Prince naturally coveting Glory, but whose hands itch'd still more than usuall since his victory of *Rocroy*, march'd day and night to come up in time: But the Garrison not having made the Resistance Expected, he found the

the Town taken at his Arrival, which provok'd him to a high degree against the Governour. Being however a thing for which there was no Remedy, he conferr'd with the Viscount *de Turenne* to see what course was thereupon to be taken, and Comforting one another in that it was neither of their faults, they went together to view the Enemies, who upon the rumour of the Duke *d'Anguien's* arrival were Encamp'd upon two Mountains, whose Access, though Difficult of itself, was render'd still more so by several Retrenchments, and by the Trees they had fell'd to Embarasse the ways. But all these Empediments having rather Whetted than paul'd their Courage, the Duke *d'Anguien* sent *Marsin* order, with whom he had left his Army, to bring it him with all Expedition. Hardly would he allow it a day or two's Rest after so long a March, and as if he had been afraid the Enemies shou'd have scap'd him, he lead it himself on to the Battle, which was long and obstinate on both sides. The Enemies trusting in the strength of their Retrenchments and Scituation of their Camp, seem'd at first to make a mock of the efforts he made, but coming to perceive that the Viscount *de Turenne* after having made himself Master of a Wood which they had lin'd with Infantry, came to attack them thorough a Place not so difficult, they caus'd their Horse to march, which Stop'd our foot that had pass'd sooner than our Cavalry, by reason the Wood was fill'd with trees and Ditches that hamper'd the ways. The night coming on hinder'd things from proceeding farther: The Viscount *de Turenne* spent that time in passing the Cavalry, which he had drawn up in *Batalia* at Break of Day. But the Enemies making use of the Darkness to Conceal their Rerreat, abandoned their Camp, without having had time to break their Baraques, or Carry away a thousand Conveniences we found there both



both for Men and Horses. The Duke d' *Anguien* having suffer'd his Army there to rest, after being Extremely tyr'd and harrals'd with the Business of the day before, by reason of the Continuall Rains, departed again at Break of day, with a resolution to pursue the Enemies, who were retreated near to *Fribourg*. He found they had Chosen an Advantageous Post, which caus'd him to make a halt before he attack'd them. But as he was Squaring his Measures by the Viscount de *Turenne's* and some Other Officers Advice, the Souldiers fell a Skirmishing, and had so far engag'd into a Battle; as wou'd have render'd it impossible to have avoided it, if the Viscount de *Turenne* to hinder the Disorder which began to appear among our men, had not plac'd himself at the head of the Regiment of *Flexheim*, with which he repell'd the Enemies. The vigour wherewith he broke in among them made them return into their Retrenchments; out of which they came in hopes of an impending victory. Things being thus retriev'd as well as cou'd be desir'd, the Resolution was to attack them in their very Camp; But we found the Passes so well intrench'd, that after having fought on till night, Our men were oblig'd to leave them at Quiet. Yet was this of no long Duration, For the Duke d' *Anguien*, who delighted in Bloud, and was not daunted at the loss he had suffer'd in that Occasion, thinking it a lessening of his Glory, if after having prosper'd so well in the Beginning, he desisted for so small a matter, he remov'd his Camp to *Landeslinghen*, that so by cutting-off their victualls they might quit so advantageous a Post. His hopes were not abortive, the Enemies coming quickly to be under all sorts of wants, wou'd seek out a Place where they might live with more Conveniences; But the Duke d' *Anguien* falling upon them on the one side, while the Viscount de *Turenne* at-

tack'd

tack'd them on the other, they were constrain'd to abandon their Canon, and make their Escape into the Mountains. The Duke d'*Anguien* having thus disperst their Army, would have retaken *Fribourg*, provided with a strong Garrison : But the Viscount de *Turenne* remonstrating to him that the Enemies had left unprovided all the Other Places to Secure that, persuaded him to go rather to *Philipsbourg*, which being stronger by its Situation and Outworks, must afford him more Honour. This was a sufficient hint to a Prince, who valu'd nothing so much as things of great Renown, to Wing him to this Enterprize : He forthwith drew near that Place, and having beleaguerr'd it, he had it surrender'd to him, after the Trenches had been twelve days open. This Conquest having been put into a Good Posture, the Viscount de *Turenne* Advanc'd towards *Worms*, and after having beaten part of General *Bek's* Cavalry, he caus'd that Town to be Summon'd, which submitted without striking a Blow. From *Worms* he march'd against the City of *Mayence*, whole Electour had Embrac'd the Enemies side, and after having on his way reduc'd *Oppenheim*, he came before *Meniz*, allready invested by part of his Troups. The Electour, neither whose Will nor Character led him to be in a Town besieged, had timely left it to retire to *Cologne* ; He had Carry'd along with him, if it may be said, the Courage of the Garrison ; so as the Chapter, that besides had its Interests apart from those of the Electour, sent a Deputation to the Viscount de *Turenne*, to desire him not to ruine so fine a Town, when just ready to open its Gates to his Excellence. The Viscount de *Turenne* in his Answer told those Deputies that he must allso have put into his hands the City and Castle of *Bingen*, which the Chapter had

had under its Protection ; and seeing that after some Consults they had had with those of the Town, they had at length thereunto consented, he gave notice of all to the Duke d'Anguien, that being greedy of Honour, he might himself repair to the Camp, that the World might presume his Highness to have made this Conquest. The Enemies were retreated to *Heilbron*, where they endeavour'd to re-inforce their Army : But the Succours came in so slowly to them, that before they were in a posture of forming any Enterprize, the Viscount de *Turenne* had taken also *Landau*, and *Baccarach*, with several Castles which secur'd all those Conquests. But the last the Duke of *Anguien* was in to go to Court to receive fresh Applauses, having occasion'd many to leave the Army, it became so Weak, that the Enemies were no longer afraid to show themselves. Whereupon they began to march after so long a repose, and having attack'd *Manheim*, that had no more than Two Hundred Men in Garrison, they carry'd it with Ease. This Success having puff'd up their Courage, they conceiv'd a Design upon *Spire*, which open'd it's Gates to us before the Siege of *Philipsbourg* : But as this had been Suffering *Philipsbourg* to be block'd up on that side, the Viscount de *Turenne* did not content himself with putting Succours into that Place, but having also lin'd the Banks of the *Rhin* with his Infantry, he hinder'd the Passage of some Boates, that by the means of Certain Traytors in the Town, thought to have been receiv'd therein upon sight. He likewise sav'd *Baccarach*, threatned with such another Enterprize ; and as the Governour by his valour had afforded him time to come to it's Succours, he gave him two hundred Pistols of his own money, and Writ to Court in his behalf : for this Prince had no greater Pleasure

Pleasure than in procuring favours for those whom he found Worthy of them; but he did these kind of things without affectation, vanity, or attributing to himself honour as most others do, so as that many found themselves by him rewarded, without knowing to whom they had the obligation. Thus he rarely promis'd, but nevertheless employ'd his Offices as much as if he had promis'd, for he said, that those who promis'd with so much Earnestness, seem'd to Engage to bring that about which they had promis'd, which ought not to be done, unless it depends on one's self. He said further, that a man that had been amuz'd with specious Promises, oftner blam'd him that had engag'd to be his Intercessor, than him in whose Disposall the favour he demanded lay, that this proceeded from the fault of a Certain Number of Persons, whose Character was to promise lightly, or not to remember what they had promis'd.

In the mean while, the Enemies having mis'd of *Spire* and *Baccarach*, as I have newly said, attempted *Creusnach*, which the Viscount *de Turenne* had in like manner reduced to his Obedience: But he being on his march to relieve it, they pass'd the *Mein*, and went and beleaguer'd *Hochst*, a small Place in Possession of the *Landgrave of Hesses* Arms, a Prince in our Alliance. The Viscount *de Turenne* being afraid it was not in a Posture of making a Defence, hasten'd to its Relief, but having Notice on the Way of its being already Surrender'd, he turn'd his Arms against *Gernsbuim*, which compensated him for that loss. He wanted nothing more now to Compleat so Glorious a Campagne, than to Encounter the Enemies again, which he wisht above all things, as Phancying whatever Glory he had acquir'd at the Defeat of the *Bavarians*, and *Lorrainers*,  
the

the Duke *d'Anguien* had robb'd him of part of it, being Commander in Chief of the Army. Nothing did it avail his telling himself, that that Prince being still Young and with small Experience, the World would do him so much Justice as to believe, that he had Contributed at least as much as his Highness, to so many Great Successes, but this was not capable of Satisfying him; he told himself also at the same time, that this Prince was one of the bravest Princes in the World, and that his Bravery had perhaps produc'd all these Great Events; he remember'd to have seen him all Cover'd with Fire in the Midst of the Enemies, and he had often been more afraid for him in those Perils, he saw him Expose himself to, than he could hope to see him come Happily off; For as he was one that most admir'd that Young Princes Virtue, the Affection he had ever had for his Highness, was improv'd to so high a Pitch, that he could not have had more for a Son. Not that withall this there was any great Sympathy of Humour between them. The Duke *d'Anguien* lov'd all sorts of Pleasures, ev'n to becoming the Slave of Voluptuousness; whereas the Viscount *de Turenne's* whole Delight Consisted in his Duty. The Duke *d'Anguien* was Cholerick and full of Fire; the Viscount *de Turenne*, Mild and Temperate. The Duke *d'Anguien* Eloquent, and a great Talker; the Viscount *de Turenne* spoke little, and had, as I have already said, some difficulty to Express himself. In short, they had no affinity but that they were both Brave and Cool in Command: but otherwise so different of Humour, that People had reason to Wonder how that Nature having made them generally so unlike, had nevertheless giv'n them two Qualities so resembling.

In vain did the Viscount *de Turenne* seek out the Enemies : their precaution to shun Meeting him, was greater than his Cunning to find them out ; so as that fearing to lose his time, if he persever'd in his Design, he drew near *Philipsbourg* that stood in Want of Sundry Necessaries ; He had there a World of Proposals made him on the behalf of the Grandees of the Kingdom, who being dissatisfy'd with Cardinal *Mazarin*, sought to wrest new favours from his Eminency, by making themselves formidable ; but nothing being so Dear to him as his Duty, he wou'd not give the least hearing to any of their Offers, tho' they would have assur'd him of vast Pensions, and promis'd him a thousand fine things capable of staggering another's fidelity. The *Spaniards*, assisting also in the Attacque, offer'd him great Advantages, and endeavour'd to Engage him thro' the Resentment they fancy'd he could not otherwise than harbour for the Concerns of *Sedan*, but his answer to him who broke their business to him was, that in case he was ever urg'd upon the like point again, he wou'd make him that did it from ever more being capable of making such like Propositions. Yet he knew not whether he ought to mention these sorts of things to the Queen-Mother, having no proofs in hand, and fearing he might be fac'd down into a Lye, for he suspected the Greatest of the Kingdom to be tampering in this Intrigue, & his Suspicion reach'd even as far as the Duke of *Orleans*. And indeed that Prince, less to content his own Ambition than that of his favourites, was not satisfy'd with the Place he held in the Council, and though it was the first, yet he had it buzz'd in his Ears, that while the Cardinal left his Royal Highness the superfi- ciall Badges of Authority, he attributed it all to himself. The Prince of *Condé* on his side, though he accumulated

accumulated immense Riches, found fault if he was refus'd the least thing either for himself or his Creatures, and wou'd have listen'd to any sort of Proposal that tended to render him still more powerful than he was. The Cardinal was very much at a plunge how to buoy himself up amid such self-Interest and such Turbulent Spirits, and all his Policy tended only to make the Duke of Orleans his Rempart against the Prince of Conde, and then again the Prince of Conde against the Duke of Orleans.

The Spaniards had a fair opportunity to do their Business amid all these Divisions. And indeed the King of Spain being unwilling to let slip such an Occasion as this, return'd himself into *Catalonia*, where he beleaguerr'd *Lerida*, which the Mareschal de *Taxis* try'd in vain to Succour: A part of our Army was there defeated; but this having not hinder'd that Mareschal from undertaking to besiege *Terragona*, he was also compell'd to raise that Siege, which a little lessen'd the same he had acquir'd in that Country. Yet some there were who found he had reason for doing what he did. For besides that His Catholique Majesty had forces infinitely above his and that it was not safe staying his Coming, he was afraid lest that King might have some Design upon *Barcelona* or upon *Balaguer*, and that it wou'd be too late to redress it if he stay'd any longer before *Terragona*. Be it as it will, the Court imposing to him those unhappy Events, sent the Count of *Harcourt* in his Room, hoping that after the Glory he had acquired in *Italy*, his bare name wou'd be capable of Creating a Terror in the Enemies. The Spaniards were not altogether so happy beyond the Alps, Prince *Thomas*, though he had only a feeble Succours from us, sustain'd the Affairs of *Italy* by his own Reputation and Credit, insomuch that after having taken the Citadel of *Castell*, he laid Siege to *Final*, which, nevertheless, he cou'd not take,

take. As concerning *Portugal*, that had revolted, as I have already said, the *Spaniards* cou'd do no great matters there, because that the Affairs of *Catalonia* having robb'd 'em of many of their Measures, their Thoughts were wholly taken up how to reduce that Province to it's Obedience, preferably to all the Rest. Thus the Duke of *Braganza*, who had been elected King by an Universal Consent of all the People, dexterously making use of that Conjunction to secure his Power, he dispers'd some Conspiracies, which a Remnant of love for the *Spaniards* had foster'd in the hearts of some Persons of Quality.

The Beginning of the year 1645. was not over-propitious to *France*, nor to the Viscount de *Turenne*, Who had still the Command of the Army in *Germany*. The Efforts the Enemies had made on that side, having oblig'd him to pass the Winter upon the *Rhin*, he was at a very great loss how to provide for the Security of severall Towns that were Equally threatned. Having nevertheless effected it by his Prudence, so much trouble undergone seem'd now to require his enjoying some Quiet, when that he had Notice that the Enemies were marching towards *France*, He immediately pass'd the *Rhin* at *Spire*, hoping that if he cou'd possess himself of the Passes, they wou'd find it a hard matter to Execute their Enterprizes. It was now towards the End of Winter, which is very severe in those parts, so as that an Army suffer'd much in a march long and difficult: But the Viscount de *Turenne* Encouraging his Souldiers with his wonted Sweetness, made them find things less painfull, because that he shar'd with them ev'n to the least Inconveniencies: And indeed he would have 'em Want for Nothing, and Especially recommended to the Quarter-Masters, to take Care to pitch upon such



Posts as where the Souldiers might be shelter'd,  
 as far forth as the Place and Enemies would per-  
 mit; If he was oblig'd to make them Encamp he  
 commonly Encamp'd with them, without making  
 use of the Privilege of a General, for his Opinion  
 was, that for the well disciplining of an Army,  
 the Head must Serve it for an Example: When  
 there was a Want of Victualls he wou'd have it  
 appear upon his Table, tho' his Men could have  
 got for him in sufficient Abundance; he said it was  
 not justice he shou'd feast, while others endur'd  
 Thirst and Hunger; that would to God he cou'd  
 afford them all sustenance by abstaining himself from  
 Eating; that this would be the most gratefull thing  
 to him in the World, since to him nothing seem'd  
 Good, as long as he knew them in Indigency.  
 Thus in those times of Misery and Affliction, how-  
 ever long the march might be, he never stopp'd  
 to Eat; he said that one ought to spare the Soul-  
 diers a sight that render'd them still more sensible  
 of their Misfortunes; that a man that was Hungry,  
 was still more Hungry when he saw Others Eat,  
 and since he partook with them the Honour which  
 redounded from their Actions, it was but very just  
 to partake their Pains and Miseries: When it hap-  
 pen'd that in those Marches some Town or Com-  
 munity, which he cou'd not oblige to Contribution,  
 made him a Present, he refus'd it, saying, they  
 wou'd please him more in bestowing their Liberali-  
 ties upon his Souldiers, who had more need of them.  
 And that he might in some manner oblige them  
 to it, he wou'd often come back again, for fear  
 they shou'd forget his Recommendations: for tho'  
 these sorts of Presents were commonly Chargeable  
 to his Excellency, he had no longer that Consid-  
 eration when they tended to the Ease and Comfort

of his Men. Easy it is to apprehend that by this sort of Demeanour he gain'd their Love to Infinity; and indeed he might have led them to the further End of the World, without one of them Complaining, for they were already perswaded that he caus'd them not to take one needless step. After having march'd near three weeks amid the Mountains, and during Continual Rains, and having Cross'd divers Rivers, at length he found the enemies upon the Bank of the *Nekre*, who Changing the Design they had of attacking him into that of providing for their own Defence, they retreated into the Mountains. The Viscount *de Turenne* to whom Nothing cou'd have happen'd more agreeable, since it was Sufficient for him to have Cross'd their Enterprizes, fancy'd however that to hinder them from returning he ought to pass the River, and falling upon their heels he pursu'd them without Intermission. At length his Army being almost harast off its Leggs, he was constrain'd to Stop; but that he might have certain news of what became of the Enemies, he detach'd Colonel *Rose* after them, who still follow'd them four whole Days. *Rose* seeing he cou'd not overtake them, and contenting himself with having render'd an Account to the Viscount *de Turenne* of what he had done, this Prince, fancy'd he might send his Troups into Quarters; but being far from suspecting any Surprise, the Enemies return'd back at the same time with *Rose*, and falling upon him when he least expected it, they found his Quarters here and there dispers'd, so as that they had him at a Cheap Rate. The Viscount *de Turenne* who had plac'd his Head-Quarters at *Marsindal*, being Surpriz'd at such unexpected Tydings, thought it became him to advance to receive his Troups, to whom he sent orders to repair to a certain Rendezvouze; but accordingly as they came  
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thither,

thither, as they were but in a small number, they were defeated before they cou'd joyn together, and what might have escap'd by flight, knew not whither to run, the Enemies having seiz'd on the Passes. This put the Viscount *de Turenne* into an inconceivable Despair: Yet the vastness of the Danger having flor, bereft him of his judgement, he held firm at a Defile, and having thereby giv'n some Runnaways the opportunity to joyn him, he march'd again to *Marishdal* where he had left the better part of his Infantry: The Woods and the Night favour'd his Retreat; however being briskly pursu'd he was forc'd to face about several times: but as his men were still in a pannique terrour, he, with what Officers he had left, perform'd the Duty of a Souldier, often fighting hand to hand, ev'n as far as the passage of the *Main*, which he was the last that cross'd. The Enemies then thinking it to be in vain for them to pursue him any further, fell upon the territories of the *Lantgravine* of *Hesse* our Ally, which oblig'd Count *Coningmark* then Employ'd against the *Danes*, to quit the Siege of *Rensbury*, to come to her Succours: Nevertheless he left there General *Wrangel* then beginning to enter into some sort of Repute: But whether that he had not Experience sufficient to effect that Enterprize, or that Count *Coningmark* had left him too few forces, he was oblig'd to retreat from before him, after having lost much time and many Men. This defeat brought not only this Prejudice to the *Swedish* Affairs, but also hinder'd *Tortenson*, who Commanded another Body for them, from pursuing his Conquests with more effect. This General having Won a great Battle at *Jantitz*, in *Bohemia*, wherein He that Commanded the Emperours Army had been taken Prisoner, and Major-General *Cornet* kill'd, was fall'n upon *Moravia*, which he had to- tally

tally Conquer'd, saving the Castle of *Brin*; Nay, he had Extended his Conquests as far as the Gates of *Vienna*, from whence the Emperour was retreated for fear of a Siege: But upon the rumour of these Unhappy Successes, he seem'd to lose Heart at the same time the Garrison of *Brin* recover'd Courage. The Prince of *Transilvania* himself, who pretended to joyn him, durst not venture to enter any further into *Hungary*, where he had already spread such a Terroure, that they had remov'd from *Presbourg* the Regal Crown that is Wont to be put upon the Heads of the Kings of *Hungary*, incontinently after they have been rais'd upon the Throne; for those People are so Superstitious, that they'd imagine that Realm wou'd fall into the hands of Strangers unless they kept that Rledge, it being so Sacred among them, that they make their Happiness or Unhappiness therein to Consist.

While things were in these Terms in *Germany*, *France* endeavour'd to repair this Disorder by procuring Advantages to it self from another side, and suitably as the King of *Spain* made his Greatest Efforts to reduce *Catalonia* to its Duty, the *French* on their side did the like to foment the Rebellion in that Province. The Count *du Plessis* was order'd from *Italy*, with a part of the *French* Troupes that had serv'd in that Countrey, so as that Prince *Thomas* having now only very mean forces, saw himself reduc'd to stint his Enterprizes to the Conquest of *la Roque de Vigevane*. *France* brought two Other Armies besides on foot; the One it design'd against *Flanders*; the Other against *Germany*, without reckoning a Flying Camp, Commanded by the *Marquis de Villeroi*. The Duke of *Orleans* had still the Conduct of that of *Flanders*, for to amuze him with some vain appearance of Command, Cardinal

*Mazarin* had so Order'd matters with the Abbot *de la Riviere*, who rul'd him as he pleas'd, that he shou'd take the Government of Arms, while he left him the management of Affairs. This Prince thus feeding himself with the fumes foster'd by his Favourite, was on his march into *Flanders*, while the Kingdom was left a Prey to that Minister, who dayly Empoverish'd it by New Edicts. The Duke of *Orleans* had the *Mareschal de Gassion* for his Lieutenant-General, and being drawn near the Fort of *Mardyk*, he Won it after a Siege, wherein he lost some men. The Prince of *Orange* was in the mean while upon the Wing to Awe and Create jealousy in the *Spaniards*, and one while making a shew as if he meant to attacque *Bruges*, and another some Other Place, he gave the Duke of *Orleans* also the leisure to take likewise the Fort of *Link* and *Bourbourg*. The Army standing in need of some Repose after these last Conquests, at fifteen days end they took the field again, and the Prince of *Orange* still favouring our Designs, we took *Bethune*, *Lillers*, *St. Venant*, and *Armentieres*. The Duke of *Orleans* being after this inclin'd to take a Turn to Court, being either dispos'd to it of himself, or by his favourite who had a mind to wrest some new kindness from the minister, left his Army in the hands of *Gassion*, and *Rautzan* who had been lately made *Mareschal of France*; and these two Generals to return the Prince of *Orange*, his Complement, open'd to him the Passages for his going to besiege *Hulst*, which he compell'd to Capitulate.

As for the New Army going into *Germany*, the Cardinal put it under the Command of the Duke of *Anguien*, as he had done the Year afore: But tho' Affairs were pressing on that side, this Duke had order to favour the Enterprizes of the Marquis

quis of *Villeroy*, then busy'd in reducing some Places in *Lorraine* that still Obey'd their Natural Prince, For the Duke of *Lorraine* being asham'd to suffer so many brave Men to Perish without giving them Succours, he remounted all along the *Meuse*, thinking that nothing wou'd oppose his Passage, but having met with the Duke d' *Anguien* advantageously Encamp'd, he was forc'd to stop on a Suddain, and the Marquis de *Villeroy* in the mean while render'd himself Master of *La Mothe*, whose Governour had acquir'd much Honour by his Defence. This Affair being thus compleated, the Duke d' *Anguien* continu'd his Way, and was Urg'd to make the more hast by the bad News which arriv'd every Moment: For besides that, the *Imperialists* had retaken *Gernsheim*, the Viscount de *Turenne* having joyn'd the *Suedes*, and the Troups of *Hesse* after the Disaster that had befall'n him, was continually sending him Word that he was ready to be abandon'd by Both, Especially by the Count de *Coningsmark*, who being wont to give much License to his Souldiers, could not keep them in Discipline, which the posture Affairs were in at that time, did nevertheless require them to Observe. All these things were sufficient enough, as a man may say, to give Wings to the Duke d' *Anguien*. Having thus march'd Day and Night, he us'd so much Diligence that he was but one days journey from the Viscount de *Turenne*, who on his side drew near the *Nekre* where they were to joyn. The Viscount de *Turenne* secur'd *Wisloc* on his Way, and having Conferr'd with the Duke d' *Anguien*, they resolv'd to pass the River, tho' the Enemies already appear'd on the Other side. But *Coningsmark* refusing to fight under the Pretence of his being oblig'd to give *Tottenso*n Succours, who was Encompass'd

compass'd with two Armies, the Troups of *Hesse*, after his Example, demanded in like manner to retreat, which occasion'd the Enterprize to be deferr'd. The Rest of the Day and a good part of the Night was spent in gaining over *Coningsmark*, and the Officer that Commanded the Troups of *Hesse*; but *Coningsmark* having shown himself inexorable, Ours durst not attempt the Passage of the River, tho' the Troups of *Hesse* offer'd to stay. The Duke d'*Anguien* was vext beyond imagination, the Viscount de *Turenne* no less so, tho' of a much more Temperate Humour, for he hoped this Occasion would afford him the means of Retaliation. But in short there being no Remedy, they took leave of *Coningsmark*, and after that squar'd their Measures otherwise. *Coningsmark* being gone, they beleaguer'd *Wemphem*, and by taking it, which the Enemies could not prevent, became Masters of a Pass upon the *Nekre*, by which they intended to make themselves a way into *Bavaria*. The Enemies needing their Forces to defend the entrance of their Country, dreading the fortune of the Duke d'*Anguien*, wou'd not accept of the Battle he offer'd them, and having put some Troups into *Dunkespiel*, they retreated near to *Norwigen*. The Duke d'*Anguien* whom that Place had already afforded so much Glory, hoping that it was still destin'd to acquire him fresh Lawrells, after having taken *Rotembourg* march'd to *Dunkespiel*, being willing to insinuate into the Enemies that he meant to fasten upon that Place: But passing on, all of a sudden, he would have surpriz'd them, if they had not happily met with a marsh behind which they drew themselves up in Battalia. The Duke d'*Anguien* whose Courage was above all sorts of Difficulties, wou'd needs fall upon that Post, whatever the Danger

ger in attacking them : But the Viscount *de Turenne* having made him sensible that they could not stay long there, temper'd the furies of his Youth ; so as that he resolv'd upon driving them thence by famine. In the mean while he caus'd his Canon to advance, and the Enemies having also pointed theirs, this Din lasted till night, and two or three hundred men were kill'd on either side. At the long run the want of provisions having, as the Viscount *de Turenne* had well foreseen, oblig'd the Enemies to discamp, the Duke *de Anguien* fell upon their heels, and having overtaken them before they could reach *Norlinguen*, they drew up their Army in Batavia ; after having seiz'd on a village, wherein there was a Competent strong Castle, they put into't a good part of their infantry, and having plac'd their Cavalry behind, they Phancy'd themselves so much the more in safety, as that their Camp was upon two Mountains of Difficult access, by reason of a Marsh on the one side, and a Wood on the Other. The Duke *de Anguien* after having view'd all these things gave the Command of his Right Wing to the Marechal *de Grammons*, and that of the Left to the Viscount *de Turenne*, and having resolv'd to Cause the village to be attack'd, he caus'd a Detachment to march thither led on by *Marsin*, that was repuls'd with great loss ; *Marsin* himself having been dangerously Wounded was oblig'd to retreat, and *la Moussaye* who had order to take his Room had not a better fortune. The Duke *d' Anguien* imagining all things were to Square with his Courage, march'd himself to see what was the matter, they went not better : But his Horse having been kill'd under him, and having also receiv'd a Bruise, the Battle began to cool, when the Viscount *de Turenne* found the means to pass between the village and a Mountain ; the Enemies Cavalry Seeing him coming endeavour'd



to stop him, that he might remain expos'd to the firing of the village which took him in the Flank; but the Viscount *de Turenne* after having Chang'd his Horse, his first having been wounded, receiv'd 'em so bravely, that he quickly made them betake themselves to flight. *Gleen*, Lieutenant General of the Imperial Army, was taken in that Occasion. But General *Mercy's* Destiny was still more Unhappy; for as he endeavour'd to sustain the Battle with the Right Wing that had not yet buckl'd, he was kill'd stone Dead upon the Spot. The Officers Disaster drew on that of the Souldiers; These wanting Leaders to Conduct them, fought now no otherwise then in Disorder, so as it was rather a Slaughter than a Battle, their Ordnance with most of their equipage was the Booty of the victours, and the Duke d' *Anguien* not being of a humour; to let the fruit of his victory slip, Seiz'd on *Norlinguen* and *Dunkespiel*. The Duke of *Bavaria* whose states were left as a Prey after the loss of the Battail, had recourse to the Emperour, of whom he demanded Succours with great importunity, and the Emperour fearing he might proceed to an accomodation with the enemies, who made him some Proposals, caus'd Immediately the Arch Duke *Leopold* with *Galas* to march away; by this means *Tortenson* found himself freed from fear, and continu'd with the more repose, but not with the more Success at the Siege of *Brin*. The Coming of Arch-Duke *Leopold* and of *Galas* gave Bounds to the Duke d' *Anguien's* Conquests, who falling sick besides, had been Oblig'd to cause himself to be carry'd to *Philipsburg*. Before his Departure he Commanded the Marechal *de Grammont* and the Viscount *de Turenne*, to whom he left the Conduct of the Army, to stand only upon the Defensive, either that he had secret Orders from the Court, or that hoping to be suddainly cured he meant

meant to reserve all enterprizes to himself. But tho' he had not giv'n them these Orders, yet Prudence requir'd their not following any other Course; For the enemies were much stronger than we, so as that there was no other way to play the Game then that he directed: Thus after having put Men into *Dunkespiel* and the Other Places we had taken, the Marechal de Grammont and the Viscount de Turenne march'd away for *Philipsburg*, and the Arch Duke thinking to engage them in a certain Occasion that was favourable to him, offer'd them Battle, which they were far from accepting; Seeing he could not oblige them to it, he himself drew near *Philipsburg*, but having found the place in too good a Posture to dare to Besiege it, and all the Passes on the *Rhine* so well guarded that he could not enter into *Alsacia*, he wheel'd about, and bent his Arms another way. The French Leagner, being no longer under any Apprehensions, for *Philipsburg*, Separated into two, under the Conduct of the Marechal de Grammont and of the Viscount de Turenne; and this Prince, though weak, unwilling to lose time, went and took *Trier*, while the enemies attack'd *Dunkespiel*, and *Rotembourg*; they also made themselves Masters of *Wislik* and *Wimphers*, so as fortune seem'd to take delight in favouring sometimes one side, and sometimes t'other.

In *Catalonia* only was it where she appear'd the least inconstant; for the Count de *Harcourt* advancing into the Plain d' *Urgel* to stop the enemies while the Count de *Blessy* perform'd the Siege of *Rosny*, she declar'd her self so far in his favour, that a man would have said she had wedded his Party. In the mean while the enemies being very strong could hardly brook to be thus Check-mated, and made diverse Attempts, and not being paul'd by ill Success in the Beginnings, daily undertook new matters. The King

of

of Spain was still at *Saragossa* from whence he press'd his Generals to open him the Passages, and as he distrust'd his fortune, he had not dar'd to come himself into his Army, for fear of receiving some Affront. His Generals seem'd to participate in his fears, and seeing His Catholique Majesty so wary, they were also the more Circumspect in their Enterprizes. So as that the Count *du Massis* availing himself of their delays oblig'd the Town to Capitulate. The King to whom this Count had already render'd many so'd services, made him Marschal of *France*, & sent him back into *Italy*, to stop Prince *Thomas* his Complaints, he not being over-well satisfy'd to be left thus without Succours. In the Interim the Count *de Harcourt* after having in this manner ascertain'd the taking of *Roses*, resolv'd to Cross the *Segra* whose passage the enemies defended. But as it was difficult to compass that Design in their Presence, he sent a detachment towards the mountains, where they were not upon their Guard, and this Detachment having pass'd the River upon a Bridge of Boats, intrench'd it self on the *Orthen* side, till the Rest of the Army was come up. The enemies having had notice that part of the Army was already pass'd, march'd that waywards, and having begun a Brush to hinder the Rest from passing, they were repuls'd and pursu'd ev'n into the *Plain of Laurent*; the two Armies being there in *Battalia*, the Conflict that had been only manag'd by Detachment became Generall; But the *Spaniards* having again been beaten, betook themselves to their heels, and made their escape by favour of the night. The Count *de Harcourt* being encourag'd by so many happy Successes, layd Siege to *Belaguer*, which had been Surrender'd to the enemies the year afore, and after having re-taken it, he return'd to *Barcelona* by reason of a Conspiracy fram'd by the *Baronets d'Alby*.

a Woman of Great Beauty, with which she allur'd many People into her Interests.

The *Spaniards* seeing themselves worsted in so many Places, endeavour'd to retaliate in *Portugal* and in *Italy*; But the Marquis de *Leganez*, having made an Invasion upon the Dominions of his *Portuguese* Majesty, found more Difficulty than he had foreseen, and the Governour of *Milan* that had hoped to have had Prince *Thomas* at a cheap rate, saw himself frustrated of his expectation by the arrival of the Marechal du *Plessis*. However the Governour not yet despairing of being able to impede their Junction, posted himself upon the River of *Mora*, and having possess'd himself of Certain Posts made head against Prince *Thomas*, while that on another side Endeavours were us'd to stop the Marechal du *Plessis*; But that Prince labouring under a want of Provisions made an Effort to get open the Passage, and behav'd himself so Valiantly in that occasion, that the *Spanish Troups* were put to the Rout. After this there being nothing more to hinder his joyning with the Marechal du *Plessis*, he met him on the Way; this Marechal having on his side done all in his Pow'r to come up to share with him in the fortune of that Day.

The War that was spread in so many Places during the year afore, ceas'd in some by the Peace, made between the Emperour and the Prince of *Transylvania*, and between *Sueden* and *Denmark*: But it continu'd with more force in other Places, because that the Troupes of the Emperour and of the King of *Sueden* being re-united Each to their Party, several Bodies of them were formed, which carry'd the War into so many Parts, that not a Place was there but became a Bloody Theatre; the Winter it self, a time that seems destin'd

destin'd for repose, was spent in making divers  
 enterprizes, as if the other Seasons had not been  
 sufficient. The *Spaniards* impatiently supporting  
 the taking of *la Roque de Vigevane*, from whence  
 excursions were made as far as *Milan*, laid Siege  
 to that Place, and continuing their Attacks, not-  
 withstanding the bitterness of the Cold made them-  
 selves Masters of that Fastness. This enterprize  
 having been begun towards the end of the Year  
 1645. and compleated at the beginning of the  
 Year following, far from disheartning Prince *Thomas*,  
 stimulated him to take his Revenge upon some o-  
 ther place, and having taken a turn to *Paris*, he  
 prevail'd with the Court to send a Fleet into *Italy*,  
 to favour a certain Design he had upon the Coasts  
 of *Tuscany*: But fearing least this might alarm  
 the Grand Duke, he had the Secret imparted to  
 him, and a Bargain was struck up with his High-  
 ness that he should not give any Succours to the  
*Spaniards*. The Court having thus settled matters  
 on that side, the Duke *de Brezé*, Admiral of *France*  
 and Brother in Law to the Duke *d'Anguin*, put  
 to Sea with a Fleet, while Prince *Thomas* bent his  
 March to *Orbitella*, which place he had taken a  
 Resolution to beleaguer. This Town could not be  
 Reliev'd by Land save by the Forces of the King-  
 dome of *Naples*; but this Succours being slow and  
 besides very uncertain, the *Spaniards* assembl'd Ships,  
 and made in the interim some Attempts with the  
 Garrisons of *Porto-Ercole* and of other Forts they  
 held in those parts. *Carlo de la Gatta* being in the  
 place, perform'd on his part all that cou'd impede  
 the Approaches, and having by his Bravery spun-  
 out things into a Length, the Fleet put to Sea,  
 and the Succours departed from *Naples*, but in so  
 Scanty a Number, that according to all Appear-  
 rances

rances they were not much to be rely'd on. The Fleet being ready before the Succours, the *Spaniards* offer'd an Engagement, and the Duke *de Brezé* being Young and desirous to signalize himself, having met them half way, they fought on both sides with great Courage. At length the *Spaniards* not being able to resist the *French* Fury, thought of nothing now but of retreating, and wou'd perhaps have been maul'd in so doing, but that, by good luck for them, the Duke of *Brezé* was kill'd by a Canon Bullet, which made the *French* not mind pursuing them. *Carlo de la Gatta* had no other hopes now but in the Succours of *Naples*, and which I have already said to be so poor a bus'ness, that he did not presume of it much to his advantage : but the Issue of the Engagement that had been lately fought at Sea, having alarum'd the Neighbouring Princes, each of 'em under-hand augmented this Succours, and it prov'd so considerable before it came in the presence of the Enemies, that *Carlo de la Gatta* might well entertain a better opinion of it without fearing to be tax'd with too much Vanity. And indeed after having rested a day or two, this Succours attack'd the Lines with so much Valour, as forc'd Prince *Thomas* to untrim the Trenches to line a Thousand several places where the Enemies appeared : But *Carlo de la Gatta* laying hold of so favourable a time to make a Vigorous Sally, he drove out those that were left in the Works, and having set fire to the Bavins and fill'd the Trench, Prince *Thomas* had no other course to take than of making his Retreat.

The ill Success of this Enterprize gave some disquiet to *France*, that had found by this occasion the little kindness the Princes of *Italy* had for that Crown ; and as Prince *Thomas* after this saw him-

self slighted by his Adherents, and that his Despair was capable of hurrying him to great Extremities, it was resolv'd that a New Effort should be made to endeavour a Diversion of the *Spanish* Forces that were preparing to find him Work sufficient. The *Marschal de la Meilleraye* had Order to fit out a New Fleet, and being embark'd he laid Siege to *Piombino*, where the *Marschal du Pleffis* came and joyn'd him with some *French* Troupes. This Enterprize, being more Prosperous than that of *Orbitella*, repair'd in some manner our Reputation in *Italy*; But the taking of *Piombino* having been follow'd with that of *Porto-Longone*, the jealousy of the Neighbouring Princes was stronger than ever, fatal marks of which, had it been in their Pow'r, they would liberally have bestow'd on us.

In the meanwhile tho' the War was carry'd-on with so much heat in *Italy*, yet did it in no wise cool in *Flanders* or in *Germany*. The Duke of *Orleans* was enter'd *Flanders* with an Army, containing the flow'r of the Troupes of the whole Kingdom, and had the Duke d'*Anguien* under him. The Principal Aim was upon *Dunkirk*, and this Design had been sufficiently manifested the year afore by the Enterprizes that had been made on that side; for which reason the Court of *France* had prevail'd with the Prince of *Orange* who had surpriz'd *Tirlemont* in the very heart of the Winter, that he wou'd send Ships before it, and into other parts where they might be requisite. This Prince advanc'd himself in Person, flustering at a rate as if he meant to attack the Best Places, and thereby make a Great Diversion, he gave the Duke of *Orleans* Means who was not yet willing to give vent to his Design, to go besiege the City of *Courtray*: Having Secur'd that, he pass'd the Canal of *Bruges* and

and the Prince of *Orange* drawing near on that side, the Mareſchal *de Grammont* went into his Camp with Six Thouſand Men. Thus the *Spaniards* imagining him as ready for any ſort of Attempt, were oblig'd to divide their forces ; but the Duke of *Orleans* drawing near *Mardik*, which the *Spaniards* had recover'd the year afore, he laid ſiege to't. The Duke *d'Anguien*, who Expos'd his Perſon as much as the Meanest Souldiers, ran there a riſque of his Life, and was wounded in ſeveral Places. In the Interim *Picolomini* endeavour'd to impede this Conqueſt as much as he could ; but the Prince of *Orange*, Croſſing his Deſign, he had the Vexation of not being able to effect his Ends. *Mardyk* being taken, the Duke of *Orleans* return'd to Court, and the Duke *d'Anguien*, march'd againſt *Berguen*, which after he had taken he beleaguerr'd *Dunkirk*. The Siege of this Place, being a Sea-Port, at another time wou'd have Created much jealouſy in the *Engliſh*, and perhaps they wou'd have us'd their utmoſt endeavours to hinder it : But the Execrable Rebellion they were Engag'd in at that time, rendring them incapable of any other Sentiment, they with great Tranquillity beheld the Beginning, Proſecution and End of this Enterprize. The Duke *d'Anguien* having Compleated his Lines of Circumvallation, preſs'd the Town briskly, & tho' *Picolomini* had laid all other Buſ'neſs aſide, to attend the Relief of this Place, he took it, to the great amazement of Strangers, who Expected this Place muſt have held out much longer. This Conqueſt augmented ſtill the Glory which that Prince had acquir'd in *Germany*, and the Court had ſo much regard for him, as began to create a Jealouſy in the Duke of *Orleans* : but as the Duke *d'Anguien* had a Sly and Cunning Wit, he manag'd his Royal Highneſs ſo dexterouſly,



as that he removed all his Suspitions. The Prince of *Orange* thinking to make advantage of the Consternation the *Spaniards* were under after this loss, laid Siege to *Vinlo*; but having undertaken it only to his own Confusion, he Retreated into his own Country, while the *Mareschal de Grammont* had much ado to get into *France*.

The happy Successes we had had in *Flanders* were a little tarnished by raising the Siege of *Lerida*, undertaken by the Count de *Harcourt*, and where he consum'd many Men and much Money. But the heat of the War was no where so manifest as in *Germany*, where the Viscount de *Turenne's* Prudence exerted it self in many Instances: The *Imperialists*, having had a little Respite by means of the Winter, endeavour'd to Emprove it to advantage, and as they were in their own Countrey, and had advantages the *Suedes* wanted, they retriev'd many Places in *Bohemia*, and in other Provinces where they had been losers. The Viscount de *Turenne* being upon the *Rhin*, was too remote to give Succours to our Allyes, yet he endeavour'd as much as lay in him to oblige the Enemies to Divide their Forces; for which reason he now and then was Tampering in some petty Enterprize, and by that means kept 'em in Suspence and Jealousy: But in short his Forces were not sufficient to Atchieve what he otherwise wou'd, he had but Six Thousand Men both Horse and Foot, and with such a handfull he was not capacitated for any great matter. Thus having not been able to hinder the Enemies from taking their Quarters in *Hesse*, this had Cut him off all Communication with the *Suedes*, and when the Season came to prepare to take the field, he knew not what in the World to do to give them Succours: In the mean while, he was at a sufficient Plunge himself how to be upon  
his

his Defence against the Surprizes of the Enemies, who at any time supply'd the want of force with all sorts of Stratagems against him; He had newly discover'd a Correspondence they had in *Philipsburg*, and though he had Caus'd it's Authors to be punish'd, he knew not whether there might not be still some Other, and so durst not remove far from hand; the time however press'd, the Imperialists laid *Hesse* desolate, and so incommoded the *Suedes*, as reduc'd 'em to strange Distress. The *Land-Gravinne* of *Hesse* solicited him to give her Succours, the *Suedes* demand'd the same thing of his Excellency, and he saw little likelihood of effecting either, thorow the Difficulty of the Ways, and the fastnesses the Enemies had between Both. At last, after having weigh'd well what he had to do, he sent to the Prince of *Orange* to desire him to lend him a Bridge of Boates he had upon the *Rhine*, and having pass'd that River above the Borders of *Wesel*, he fram'd a Design in his Turn, to cut off the Ennemies Communication, and to pen them up when he had once joyn'd the *Suedes*, in which he cou'd not have been hindered, if he had the Good luck to compass the Conjunction. The Enemies might as yet have exempted themselves from that inconvenience, but fearing he wou'd march into *Bavaria*, whose Passes were open, they quickly left *Hesse*, & while they were marching in a Body they made Detachments to advance in all hast upon the *Main*. The Viscount *de Turenne* upon the news he had of all these motions, fancying that the Success of his Enterprize depended only on his opening the Passage of that River, Caus'd some troupes to advance, and these Troupes having driven away three hundred men that defended a Ford, the whole Army pass'd, being a days March before that of the Enemies: In the mean while he Seiz'd on *Aschaffembourg* and of some other

Places of less importance, and having left a Garrison in some, & blown up Others, he march'd towards the *Danube*, where most of the Citys open'd their Gates without making other than a mean Resistance; *Rhenen* however stopp'd our Armes for some days; but having been Won as well as the Rest, all *Bavaria* remain'd a Prey to our Army, it having also pass'd the *Lek. Ausburg* only now wanted to be reduc'd, it having at first demanded a Newtrality, but calling in the Enemies afterwards, this step oblig'd the Viscount to lay Siege to't. The Duke of *Bavaria* had like to have been surpriz'd in a Country House where he was taking the Diversion of Hunting; for having not foreseen that so many Rivers cou'd be pass'd in so short a space, he was far from suspecting a misfortune to be so imminent; he withdrew into his Capitall City, but not thinking himself there in safety, he wou'd have gone much further off if he had found the means to remove off the storm with which he was threatned by proposing to remain Neuter. This Prince, notwithstanding he appear'd the Most formidable of our enemies, having ever kept a Secret Correspondence with Us, for We were not over-willing that the *Suedes* should become so Potent, and he for his part was not Sorry that the *Imperialists* now and then receiv'd some small Mortifications. Thus were poor Miserable Wretches Sacrific'd for the publique weale, by some times giving ground and at others by making a fluster of pushing on; This is the reason of our Army in *Germany's* being ever so Weak; and if Succours had been sent thither the two years afore, 'twas rather to show what *France* was capable of, than to make any Considerable Conquests. And indeed Experience had shown in the Course of one and the same year, that Victorious Armies had been oblig'd to give ground and retreat, for these two Pow-

ers had the Secret to make Detachments so in the Nick, as to bring matters again to the Equilibrium they had underhand agreed on ; but now at this time it fell out quite otherwise, and the Viscount *de Turenne* not knowing the least of all these secret practices, had push'd things so far, as neither side knew how to remedy. In so great an Extremity, only were there two Expedients, One to send the Viscount *de Turenne* order to retire ; the other to direct him to suffer himself to be beaten. The former cou'd not be done without manifesting the Intelligence, the Other was dangerous, because it had been imparting the Secret to him, which they wou'd not do notwithstanding. As matters were urging, and that *Bavaria* suffer'd extraordinarily by the stay of so many Troups, they Chose to offer a Treaty, under Colour of which the Viscount *de Turenne* had order to repass the *Rhin*. This Extremely Surpriz'd this Prince, for the Court trusted entirely in the Duke of *Bavaria's* Word, he promising to abandon the Emperour: but as it was not for him to Pry into the Secret, and that it became him to content himself with obeying, he March'd whither he was Commanded, to the great grief of the *Suedes*, who fiercely Exclam'd against this Treaty. Thus they Separated with much coldness, though not a person in their Army but had conceiv'd a peculiar esteem for him, for he exerted his Benignity ev'n to the Common Soldiers, not one of whom but he had done some kindness to, Especially those who had been long in the Service, and he delighted in hearing them discourse of the various Occasions in which they had been. Now it once happening that one of them was giving him a Relation of the Battle of *Leipsick*, coming to the King of *Suedens* Death, he fell a sobbing, and Tears gush'd out to that degree as hinder'd him from Prosecuting his Discourse.

course. This Souldier's affection for his King so edify'd the Viscount that he wou'd needs have him into his Service: But this Souldier made him answer, that he wou'd have no other Master than his Captain; and that after having perform'd all his Life long so Honourable a Trade, he was resolv'd not to engage in any other of less Esteem. The Viscount *de Turenne* far from being Scandaliz'd at this Answer, was so pleas'd with it, that he desir'd *Wrangel*, Commanding the Troups of *Sweden*, to give him this Souldier, and a Lieutenancy of Horse falling Vacant some days after in a Regiment of his Army, he made him a present of it, with Moneys necessary for his Equipage: For this Prince was not only ever ready to speak well of deserving Persons, but he also did them as much good as he was able, and ev'n sometimes beyond his Forces; he also said, that a man need never fear to Want, if he had been Instrumentall to procure the fortune of Others, and that they were as many gratefull Persons that wou'd never abandon a Man at a pinch. If he was free to give without being askt, it is to be presum'd without my saying it, that he never refus'd what lay in his Pow'r: Nay, he often met those who needed him, or whom he thought under some sort of Necessity, and he did not then inquire whether he alter'd his Expence, or whether it would not incommode him himself; and indeed he commonly said, that he that was not good for himself was good for no Body, that a Prince cou'd never want, and that having so many Helps, he had but very little Charity, if he did not pittie the Misery of a Man, who often knew not where to put his Head. Nevertheless once these sorts of Liberalities brought his Money to fall short, and his Steward, who told him roundly his Mind, began to grumble

So far as to tell him, that since it was his fault he saw himself reduc'd to this Estate, it was for him to look out for Remedy ; Friend, said he to him, let's not be in this Passion, and we'll go see in a Moment whether we have any Friends ; at the same time he publickly declar'd the streights he was brought to, of which the whole Army being inform'd, brought him its Money, even to the very Souldiers, who desir'd him to accept of their Loan, saying they should be never the more at a loss for their Maintenance. The Viscount *de Turenne* was Overjoy'd at their good Will, and taking what he had Occasion for out of his Friends Purfes, He thank'd the Rest, who were under an Unconceivable Grief that Others had been preferr'd before them.

The Credit he had, made him however not to be at a Penny Charge more than Necessary, and ev'n in his Greenest Youth he was peculiar in this, that he had Ever squar'd his Expences according to his Purse ; For which reason he said, that a man should never mind what Others did, because he would ever find those, whom he wou'd have reason to Envy ; that by this means a man did often incapacitate himself from serving ; and that a man that had a Noble Ambition, had no need of so much Equipage for the doing his Duty ; that Luxury it was which occasion'd this Disorder, and not greatness of mind, as many People did imagine. Upon which he told what one of his Friends had done, who being oblig'd to go to the Army, and being without Equipage, had refus'd to accept of Money, for fear of not being able to get thither at the time required. He said that it became a Man to demean himself in this manner, and in an Age wherein Licentiousness and Luxury reign'd beyond Imagination, he endeavour'd to re-establish Virtue in the Room of Vice :  
And

And indeed, as well among Strangers, as the *French*, his repute was mounted so high, that he was consider'd as a Prince, less Conspicuous for his Birth than for the Grandeur of his Sentiments. His very Servants observ'd nothing but what was lofty in him, for tho' none in his House but have Manifested some Weakness, he was so Exempt from all Infirmities, that his least Actions gave Admiration; Nevertheless this made him not the more Arrogant with his Equals, nor the more proud with his Inferiours. As for his Domestiques, he Carry'd himself towards them with so much Goodness, that they openly averr'd, that being under the Misfortune of Service, they were over-happy in having met with so good a Master; He never spoke to them Otherwise, than if they had been his Equals, Ever Mild, ever Affable; and indeed he said their Condition did already sufficiently Challenge Commiseration, without aggravating their misfortune by ill usage: Nevertheless he exacted from each their respective Dutys, for if he had found out the least Debauchery, he had thenceforward no further regard for such Persons, and they must Change their Master; but this was done so mildly and without violence, and he contented himself with letting them know the Occasion of their being turn'd away, that so they might reform. This Conduct procur'd his family to be made up only of Civil Worthy Persons, or at least of Persons who seem'd so to his Eyes and to the eyes of all People: Such as were prone to a Disorderly Life had no Business in his Retinue, but provided they made appear good Inclinations, they were sure of his Protection; both for themselves and their family; for which reason he did not mind whether they were marry'd or not, and such as were had no need to fear that this shou'd di-

vert

vert them from his Service, since he phancy'd this wou'd render them the more affectionate to him; If they had any bus'ness he made it his own, and Solicited it in Person, without contenting himself to recommend it by Letters: For he said that Presence produc'd a greater effect than all the Writing in the World, and how a man that had a mind to do Others service ought never to take Notice if he sometimes did more than he ought; but in Solliciting a Judge, he never said I beseech you do this for me, but I beseech you do it if you find it Just, for he wou'd not that his Credit shou'd be injurious to any Body, and he told those who desir'd him to go interpose their Recommendation in his behalf, that they shou'd not engage him in it, in case their affair was ticklish in the least.

The Treaty, above-mention'd, being concluded with the Duke of *Bavaria*, the year 1647. was already far spent, when that the *Suedes* having no mind to evacuate the Places they held, were not in a humour to ratify the Treaty unless they might be left in Possession of what they then had in their hands. In the mean while the Prince of *Condé* Dy'd before the Year was finisht, and the Duke d'*Anguien* assumed his Name, so as when I shall henceforward mention the Prince of *Condé*, I shall mean that Duke. The Contests that arose between the *Suedes* and the Duke of *Bavaria* occasioned the Viscount de *Turenne* to remain still sometime upon his Territories, where he fought a short and smart Battle; for having Notice that the Enemies were marching towards the *Rhin*, he attack'd them Vigorously, and pursu'd them to the very Gates of *Newbourg*; he also took several small Cities of of his Electoral Highness's Country, for to oblige him to give all manner of Contentment to the  
*Suedes,*



*Suedes*, it became him to exert still the same heat. In the mean while as Affairs spun-out into a Length, a Part of the Army advanc'd towards the Lake of *Constance*, and alarm'd the *Cantons* by the taking of *Bregens* and of some other places : They sent Deputies to the Viscount de *Turenne* to know his Intentions ; but this Prince having assur'd them that the King his Master had not the least thoughts of making any Innovation in their Regard, they return'd very well satisfy'd, as being perswaded he would not have giv'n them this assurance, if he meant afterwards to Violate it. And indeed those who knew him, knew that for any thing in the world he wou'd not have been prevail'd with to deceive any body. And it was also a Common saying of his, that there was a great Difference between the Stratagems of War and Cheats ; and forasmuch as a man was esteem'd who knew how to put the former in practice, so much ought he to be blam'd who made use of the later to bring about his Designs ; that a man's word ought to be inviolable as well to Enemies as to Friends, and that if they were to be surpriz'd, 'twas not to be by promising them, what a man never meant to perform. At last the Treaty before-mentioned, being made, the *Suedes* having been thereunto oblig'd by the *French*, harbour'd a Secret Resentment in their Hearts, of which they were not long without giving them Instances.

During these Transactions the Viscount de *Turenne* having left *Bavaria*, turn'd his Arms against the Electour of *Mayenz* and the Landgrave of *Darmstadt* from whom he recover'd the Cities of *Aschaffenburg*, *Sclingenstadt*, and some Others ; for while he was busy'd on the One side, the Enemies Acted on the Other, and sometimes in one and the same Cam-

pagh,

pagn, a Town Charg'd its Party three or four times. He also took the City of *Darmstadt*, the Capital of the *Landgraves* of that name's Dominions, and having Cast a Terroure into the Electorate of *Cologne*, he oblig'd those Princes to demand a Neutrality. All these Treatys would have startl'd the Emperor; if he had believ'd them any thing long-liv'd; but he expected what in effect happen'd, that the Duke of *Bavaria* having left his Principal Towns in the hands of the *Suedes*, and being Constrain'd to remain Armed, could not Subsist any longer without endeavouring to affranchize himself from their Slavery; that this wou'd rather make him Chuse the hazards of War, than Moulder away by little and little: For which reason he resolv'd to try if he cou'd induce him sooner to the Rupture, than he wou'd have fall'n to't of himself. In the Interim his Circumstances were so low, that all his Credit seem'd lost in *Germany*; For we were Masters of the Bancks of the *Rhin*, from *Colin* to *Basel*, and as the means to pierce into the Countrey, We had also reserv'd to our selves *Heilbronn* and *Lawingben*, which afforded us a free Passage as far as into the Hereditary Countreys. On another side the *Suedes* possess'd an infinite Number of Places in the heart of the Countrey; but the Emperour hoping to avail himself of the strangeness between them and Us, since the Treaty of *Bavaria*, expected not only to recover what he had lost, but also to sustain with some sort of Repute the Affairs of *Flanders*, that were under great Decadency since the taking of *Dunkirk*. For considering that if the King cou'd once render himself Master of those Provinces, he wou'd be capable afterwards to give Laws to all the Empire, he fancy'd that tho' he had not so much Interest therein as the King of *Spain*, he ought nevertheless

nevertheless to Espouse it as his own Bus'ness: For this purpose he sent the Arch-Duke *Leopold* thither, that so the Grandees being Excited by the Grandeur of his Birth, might rid themselves of a certain jealousy to which he attributed the Unhappiness of the foregoing Campaigns. The Arch-Duke being accompany'd with Numerous and well-disciplin'd Forces, and being desirous to Signalize his Arrival in *Flanders* by some Considerable Exploit, he lead his Army against the City of *Armentieres*, whose Governour made a Valiant Defence; but after having held out about three Weeks without the prospect of any Considerable Succours, it at length Surrender'd upon Honorable Conditions. From *Armentieres* the Arch-Duke March'd against *Landrecies*, where he had Intelligence with the Marquis *d'Haudicourt*, Commanding in that Place. Thus having taken it with much Ease, the French Leaguer, then Marching to its Succours, was oblig'd to turn its Arms another way. To repair these Losses it took *Dixmuyden* and *la Bassée*, but it kept the former of these Two Places so little a while that 'tis not worth the pains to boast of it; for the Arch-Duke laid Siege to't immediately, while the Mareschal *de Gassion* Attack'd *Lens*. At the siege of this fastness, was it that this Captain, who had acquir'd great Renown in all his Enterprizes, receiv'd a Musket-shot of which he dy'd; he was much Lamented by his Men, esteem'd by the Enemies, and his Relations, who were great Losers by his Death, nevertheless lost still less by it than the State did, to which he was more than ever capable of rendering great Services. In the mean while, the Arch-Duke's Army still Augmenting, and the Court being afraid it might make advantage of *Gassion's* Death, sent Orders to the Viscount *de Turenne*, who

who staid upon the Banks of the *Rhin* to Secure his Conquests, to repass it on to this side : But by taking Care of the Affairs of this side, those on that fell into Decay, for the Emperour improving this Diversion, drove the *Suedes* from several Posts. For a Height of Misfortune, Colonel *Rose*, who serv'd in the Viscount *de Turenne's* Army, being gain'd and egg'd-on by his Country-men, who as I said before, were Exasperated at the Treaty of *Bevaria*, made Caballs in his Regiment, and in that of some *Suedes* that serv'd as well as he under the Viscount *de Turenne*, so to stir up some Sedition ; and tho' this Prince having intimation of his Practises had him taken into Custody, the thing was not wanting nevertheless to have strange Consequences : For as this Prince wou'd have led them into *Flanders*, he heard a Muttering that pass'd from File to File, and suspecting it to be the effect of the under-hand practices he had discover'd, he thought it his best way to shew himself to repress them ; But instead of meeting with the Obedience he expected, the Officers as well as Soldiers told him that having been rais'd by the Great *Gustavus*, they had not made any difference of the Services they had render'd to *France* from those his Majesty himself had exacted, because the Alliance between the two Crowns, interwove their Interests, and made, as a man may say, but one Party ; but now the thing in Agitation being the Carrying the War into *Flanders*, this was not the Interest of the Crown of *Sueden*, and that by Consequence they wou'd not go. The Soldiers had all this while the Match in readyness nor more nor less than if they had been before an Enemy ; but the Viscount *de Turenne*, without being startled, told the Officers that they were to answer for the Rest ; that they shou'd

shou'd come to a Resolution in four and twenty  
 hours time, if not he knew how to execute his.  
 That time was spent in Parleys of both Parties,  
 the Mutineers demanded to have paid them what  
 was owing them, and that afterwards they were  
 ready to go whereever their Generall shou'd lead  
 them: but as this was only a Pretext to cover  
 their Disobedience, they separated themselves from  
 the rest of the Army upon asking them time to Con-  
 tent them. They were Two Thousand Five Hundred  
 men or thereabouts, and Marching in *Battalia* with  
 an Extraordinary Courage, they resolv'd notwith-  
 standing their being severely Threatned, and the  
 Difficulty of the Ways, to go and find out *Conings-  
mark*, who made them a Thousand Advantageous  
 Offers to draw them to him. The Viscount de *Tu-  
rone* having spar'd them till then, by reason of  
 their Bravery, which he had so often try'd, having  
 now no other Course to take, follow'd them at their  
 Heels, and having overtaken them in a Screight,  
 where they had put themselves in a Posture of De-  
 fence, he defeated a part of them, and pursu'd the  
 Rest. Having taken some Prisoners he resolv'd to  
 have them Hang'd, and to begin with some Officers;  
 But an Old Man with a White Hoary Head of  
 Hair, and Venerable for his Years, having open'd  
 his Breast, on which were Two and Thirty Wounds,  
*We do not fear Death*, said he to the Viscount, *let it  
 present it self in what manner it will to our Eyes, and  
 my Companions can shew thee as well as I, that they  
 have confronted it a Thousand times without turning  
 Pale; lead Us whither thou wilt provided it concern  
 the Service of the Crown, whose Subjects We are Born;  
 But let's not follow thee for the Interests of thine, which  
 We will not do without having first receiv'd Orders  
 for that purpose from the Queen of Sweden, our only*  
*Mistress.*

*Mistress.* Thou sayst we are Mercenaries, and as such  
ought to follow thee over all; If we have been in the  
Pay of the King thy Master, we have Serv'd him  
well for his Money. Here's Thirty two Wounds I have  
got within these Ten Years that I have been in his  
Service, and tho' I have born Arms since Fifteen  
Years old, I never was in so many Battles, nor so  
many Sieges, as since I have been under his Banners.  
Every man of us will tell thee as much, and there are  
those of them that cou'd shew thee much otherguess  
Wounds, and yet have had no great Recompence. I don't  
say this to Reproach thee, thou do'st all thou canst for  
men in Service, and if thou do'st not do more, 'tis be-  
cause thou hast not the Pow'r. But do not think I say  
this to Flatter thee, or for that I am at thy Mercy,  
nothing but the Truth obliges me to't. I am above Sixty  
Four Years old, and thus having a foot in the Grave,  
thou canst only very little advance my End; but have  
a care of Dishonouring thy Life by inflicting an In-  
famous Punishment upon Brave Men, and Consider well  
the Consequences this may be of to the King thy Master.  
The Assurance wherewith this Old man spoke,  
had matter to surprize all those that heard him.  
It was generally expected that having fail'd in  
his Respect to his General he was going to be  
sent to Execution; But the Viscount de Turénne  
admiring the greatness of his Courage; I pardon  
thee, said he, the freedom with which thou speak'st  
to me, and in favour of the Blood thou hast shed in so  
many good Occasions, I spare thee what thou hast left,  
and that of thy Companions: But, methinks, all thy  
Long Service has not over well taught thee Due Obe-  
dience, let the Danger thou art in, teach thee, if pos-  
sible, to be wise, and I am content that thou should'st  
know thou art I did my Duty, thou would'st not perhaps  
come off as so Cheap a rate. He dismiss'd him after  
this

this answer, and having giv'n him and his Adherents leave to go whither they pleas'd, they went and joyn'd their main Body, to meet whom *Kentismarck* was advanc'd.

This Disobediente having much diminish'd the Viscount *de Turenne's* Army, he found no more now than Six Thousand men when he was on this side the *Rhine*; Being nevertheless advanc'd into *Luxembourg*, this did not hinder him from Sacking the Open Country, and from taking some Castles with the little City of *Wirron*. The Enemies being then oblig'd to send Troups to make Head against him, this so weakned their Army, as incapacitated it from any further Attempt. The Viscount *de Turenne* was however in hopes to meet with some favourable occasion to fight, but having notice of the City of *Wormes* being Besieged, he turn'd back to go to it's Relief. And indeed needfull was it to oppose the Emperour, who wag'd War with Success: For tho' the *Suedes* had taken the City of *Strasbourg* in *Francia*, and that of *Egger* in *Bohemia*, they had lost several others that were of much greater Moment; Upon which the Duke of *Bavaria* seeing his Country eaten up by their Troups, took occasion to break the Treaty he had with *Sueden*; for he was not only vex'd to see his Territories Garrison'd, but was also willing to partake with the Emperour in the Spoils of that Crown, which he saw abandon'd by *France*, and which he thought cou'd not be so suddenly Succoured, for the King had his hands full in *Flanders*, and besides in all likelihood wou'd resent what had newly occur'd in Relation to the Viscount *de Turenne*. Thus the more to oblige us not to intermeddle in his Affairs, he openly Protested he had no Design to come to a Rupture with us, and forbid

his Troups to commit any Hostility in places under our Jurisdiction. We let him alone for some time, as not being sorry, as I think I have already said, to curtaile a little the Pow'r of the *Suedes*. But when we saw, that after he had drove them out of his Country, he Pretended to extend his Conquests, ev'n upon the other Places they held in *Germany*, we began then to think of giving them Succours. Whereupon the Viscount de *Turenne* had orders sent him to pass the *Rhine* again, and he reinforc'd his Army with some Garrisons in *Lorraine* and *Alsacia*, thro' which Provinces he directed his Way.

During these Transactions News came from *Catalonia*, that the Prince of *Condé* being gone thither to relieve the *Comte de Harcourt*, had not been more prosperous before *Lerida*, which Place he had also beleaquer'd. This Unhappy Event, join'd to some other small Disgraces which befell us in *Flanders* and in *Italy* where the *Spaniards* had sack'd *Monferrat*, obliging the Court to take Care least Matters shou'd grow still worse in *Germany*, they endeavour'd to regain the *Suedes* Confidence, who were not so dull, as not to entertain some suspicion of the Sentiments we had in their regard. However nothing perplex'd us more in the Conjunctions that offer'd themselves, than the Conduct of the United Provinces, who manag'd, unknown to us, a Treaty of Peace with the *Spaniards*; for tho' we remonstrated to them, upon the suspicion we had on this Account, that their only safety was to remain inseparably link'd to us, they were so Weary of the War, that they thought any Peace, however bad, to be preferable to it. The Court having got the Wind of their Intentions, *Seignieur de Sassenheim* and *the Hague*, and tho' notwithstanding the



fine Words they gave him, judged they had a Design to abandon us; for which reason orders were sent to the Ambassadors we had at *Munster*, and who were Assembl'd there to Treat of a General Peace, to mind Carefully the Paces of the Ambassadors of *Holland*, whose Conduct was so much the more suspected, in that it was conceal'd. The Prince of *Orange's* Death happening just in that Nick, still contributed to inspire them with this Desire; for they consider'd that after having lost this Prince, a Person of such vast Experience, their Affairs wou'd perchance, change face under the Conduct of Prince *William* his Son, who wou'd need much time to acquire as much knowledge as his Father had had, and in War, and in Policy. Be it as it will, they remain'd without doing any thing, as if they repented their Having Assisted us in the taking so many Good Places. And indeed this was said to be the Reason why they most desired to make Peace, and that they already began to distrust our Neighbourhood; For they consider'd that *Flanders* being so Remote from the King of *Spain's* other Territories; Nay, and the Passages of *Italy* stopp'd by the means of *Lorrain* which we had in Possession, this Prince was not in a Condition to defend himself against so formidable a Pow'r as Ours, and principally when there shou'd be any Diversion in our favour. But what vex'd them most was, that by giving them a Sum of Money, we oblig'd them most commonly to favour our Conquests, without affording them any share in them, as had been practic'd in the Two last Campaigns: They said that after having fought for their Liberty for a whole Century together, a great want of Judgment wou'd it be to suffer others to gather the fruits of all their Labours; that if they cou'd not enlarge their State,

it was sufficiently flourishing in what it contain'd for them to be contented ; that the Peace wou'd infinitely improve it's advantageous Condition, and that at length after so much pains and Blood-shed, it was high time to enjoy some rest and dyt in their Beds. The *Spaniards* being no Strangers to these Sentiments endeavour'd to foster them ; but the *Hollanders* on their side knowing the desire the Others had to divorce them from us, set the Peace at so high a Rate, that some hopes were still left, that they wou'd not proceed to an Accommodation.

Things being in this Posture at the beginning of the Year 1648, a sad Year for us, as I shall shew in due Place, yet not by the Advantages the Enemies gain'd, for they were rather Conquer'd than Victors, but thro' our intestine Divisions, which had like to have occasion'd the ruine of the State. The Prince of *Condé*, who had try'd a Reverse of Fortune before *Lerida*, was return'd to Court, where he Solicited the Command of the Army in *Flanders*, little minded now by the Duke of *Orleans* ; so as after having obtain'd it, he took the field against Arch-Duke *Leopold*, who had miss'd of *Courtray*, which he meant to have Surpriz'd by *Scalado*. The Enemies were Extraordinary strong that Year, and menac'd no less then to invade *France* thro' *Champagne* and *Picardy*, which they Equally threatned. To remedy this Disorder, Troups advanc'd from Sundry Parts ; nay, and some were drawn out of *Brisac*, making a shew of Investing *Fribourg*, to the intent to draw a small Body of the Enemies to March that way to dispute with them their Passage. The Mareschal de *Rantzau*, who had had the Government of *Dunkirk*, drew together on the Other side, divers Garrisons ; and the Arch-Duke being oblig'd to divide his forces, the Prince of *Condé* being of a daring, Enterprizing

prizing Humour, laid Siege to *Tpres*. The Arch-Duke who expected to be Master of the Campaign, was strangely Surpriz'd at his Boldness, as being in a Condition to give him Battel; but fearing Fortune might declare her self for the Prince of *Condé*, he durst not attempt to force his Lines, and suffer'd his Highness to Compleat his Conquest, without giving him all the Obstruction he might have done. As many of our Men dy'd before *Tpres*, and that besides this the Army was Weakned by the Garrison that was put into that Place, the Arch-Duke who had taken on his side the City of *Courtray*, and had had time to know his own strength, thought it his Duty to make some Enterprize, and went and Besieg'd *Elters*. This Place had neither the Strength of *Tpres*, nor was it worthy of so great an Army; Nevertheless, the Prince of *Condé* imagining it to be a lessening his repute to Suffer it to be taken without offering its relief, decamp'd in all haste, and march'd that waywards. Yet whatever diligence he cou'd make, it was Surrendered before his Arrival, which made him a little Angry with the Commander of that Place; but quickly comforting himself he drew near the Enemies, who after having provided for their New Conquest, had led their Forces against *Lens*: He found them Masters too of that Town; Insomuch that being prevented of his good Intencions for that Place, he resolv'd to Wreak his Revenge on the Enemies, to whom he offer'd Battel, remaining two days in Battalia without their stirring from the Town. At last being afraid of being famish'd, they made some motions, but the Prince of *Condé* being at the same time at their Heels, did not suffer them to Escape without fighting. Now as he had undertaken to retrieve his Reputation, which had suffer'd some blemish by

raising

raising the Siege of *Lerida*, he of his Person did Wonders, and after having defeated their Left Wing, He fell upon their Right, which the Marechal de *Grammont* had attack'd with less Success. The Disorder was great among the Arch-Dukes Troups, and this Prince was never able to rally them, whatever Peril he himself confronted for the setting them an Example, *Roxas* taking the Advantage of this Victory, went and Attack'd *Fronkarts*, who with a small Body of *Spaniards* Cover'd the Places on the Sea-side; and after having beaten him into his very Retrenchments, he beleaguerr'd *Furnes*, whither the Prince of *Condé* repair'd. He receiv'd there a Musket-Shot on the Reins, but the Bullet being flatted by his Buff, that happen'd to lye in folds, he came off with a Bruise. These losses so allarum'd the *Spaniards* that they resolv'd to pass o'er all Considerations that had hitherto hinder'd 'em from coming to a Conclusion with the *Hollanders*, and the Treaty having been sign'd, they imagin'd they might be in a Capacity to take their Revenge. However their Concerns went not only ill on that side, but they had been also compell'd to raise the Siege of *Flix* in *Catalonia*, and the Marechal de *Schomberg* had taken *Tortose* from them; they had likewise been oblig'd in *Italy* to abandon some Islands they had possess'd themselves off upon the *Po*, and the Duke of *Modena*, having the Command of the Army, by reason of some Discontent Prince *Thomas* had giv'n the Court, had besieg'd *Cremena* in the State of *Milan* with an Army of Fifteen Thousand Men. They apprehended the Event of that Siege as a thing fatall to their Grandeur. The Duke of *Modena* us'd all possible Care and Industry in this Occasion, as well as the Marechal de *Plessis* and the Marquis *Villars*, who particularly had the Whole

Care of the Attacks, but the latter having been wounded by a Cannon shot, of which he dy'd two days after, seem'd to carry all Good luck away with him. In effect the Duke of *Modena* having Suffer'd some Losses in diverse Sallies, thought it became him not any longer to prosecute that Enterprize, and though he had lost Men and time in't, he made less reflexion on the Shame that wou'd redound from raising the Siege, than on the Obligation he was under to save the Rest of his Men. The joy the *Spaniards* receiv'd from raising the Siege of *Cremona*, was preceeded by another Event, to which they had been still more sensible; and indeed the thing was of much greater Consequence to them, and as I have not yet Spoke of it, I shall here drop a Word or Two, since the Occasion serves. The Vice-Roy they had at *Naples*, having displeas'd the People, as well as the Nobles, a General revolt there was against him the Night afore; and fearing, least the King of *Spain* might inflict an Exemplary Punishment, they call'd in His most *Christian* Majesty to their Succours, who sent them the Duke of *Guise*, a Person to them acceptable. This Duke being brave, sustain'd things for some time with great Vigour; but being addicted to his Pleasures, he suffer'd himself to be led away by his Temper, without considering the humour of the Nation, jealous ev'n to fury. Thus they not pardoning him some little Amours, that had made but too much noise, they fram'd severall Conspiracies against him, nay and render'd him so suspected to the King, that his Majesty left him, as it were, to himself. In so great an Exigency he wou'd have open'd to himself a Passage, to introduce Provisions into the Town, then labouring under great want of them; but

going

going out himself imprudently, those that had a Design against him deliver'd a Gate to the *Spaniards*, who on another side seiz'd on his Person. Now this Event was to them of too Great a Consequence, for them to refrain entertaining an Extraordinary joy; but it wou'd have been still much greater, without what occur'd in *Germany*. I have said before, that the Duke of *Bavaria* having broke his Treaty, the Viscount *de Turenne* was march'd away again for *Germany* by order from the Court; and as this Prince knew the necessity there was to make hast, he march'd long Days journeys till he had pass'd the *Rhine*: He joyn'd the *Suedes*, whose great occasions for him, from them extorted great excuses, for having receiv'd his Mutinous Troups, and having offer'd to put them again into his hands to Chastize them as he pleas'd, his answer was, that all thoughts shou'd be laid aside of what was pass'd, and that provided they were more Obedient, he willingly pardon'd them. This Affair being thus terminated without there appearing any bitterness on either side, the Army march'd directly to the *Danube*, where the Enemies waited with thirty thousand men, as if they meant to give Battail, but upon the Tydings they had that the Viscount *de Turenne* drew near, they march'd to *Donaupert*, where they pass'd the River. The Viscount *de Turenne* perceiving by this, that they had no Intention to fight, design'd to force them to an Engagement, by passing it himself at *Lawinghen*, and to make the more hast, he left there his sick and his Baggages. *Melander* who commanded two years afore the Troups of *Hesse*, but out of some Discontent had sided with the Emperour, thought it not yet fitting to accept of the Battail, and thinking to reach the little River of *Armutb*, he was much Surpriz'd to see that his Rier attack'd before he cou'd pass *Sommerhausen*.

*marshawen.* He immediately repair'd thither, to put things in the best posture he cou'd; but in his striving to stop the enemy, that pusht him briskly, he receiv'd a Pistol-shot in his Reins. He easily perceiv'd the Wound to be Mortal, but being a man of Great Courage, he told those that were very earnest to give him help, that they shou'd only think of saving the Army, and having commanded them to press it on as much as they cou'd, he Surrender'd his Soul in uttering these Words, Advance, Gentlemen, Adv-a-n-ce. The Rier had much adoe to pass the River, and a great Number of them were kill'd upon the Bancks, but the rest having at length got over, they broke down the Bridges and still pursu'd their way. In the mean while the Duke of *Wurtembourg* posted himself in a Meadow with twelve hundred Horse, sustaining two Batallions, plac'd to impede our Passage, and he behav'd himself so valiantly in this imploy, that a Man cannot say too much to his Honour. And indeed, though he had lost above the half of his Men, they being kill'd by our Canon, he stood firm in his Post, untill Night, when he made his Retreat. The Darkness made the Viscount *de Turenne* not dare to pass in his Pursuit, but at break of day, the Army began to work upon the Bridges, while the Cavalry were seeking out a Ford. At length having found the means to pass in less than three hours space, it fell a tracing the Enemies who fled towards *Lek*. As they had got a nights start, and that besides fear gave them Wings, the Viscount *de Turenne* cou'd not overtake them, and being come to the Banck of the River, he saw them on the other side, a making intrenchments. He brought up his Canon, that made not disorder enough to oblige them to give ground, so as that he turn'd toward *Rhain*, where there was a Bridge, he had a mind to surprize. The Garrison defended

defended it for some time with reasonable Courage; but fearing to be forc'd, they set fire to't, which ours immediately extinguish'd. After we had repair'd it, the Army pass'd o'er, and entring into the heart of *Bavaria*, spread there such a Con-  
 sternation, that the Duke did not think himself there in Safety: Feign wou'd he have brought the Treaty again on foot, but as there was no trusting him since his former Behaviour, they wou'd not so much as give him a hearing. Being thus debarr'd the ways of Accommodation, his Electoral Highness departed from *Münich* with all his Family, and 'twas a thing worthy of Compassion to see such a great Prince, as his Electoral Highness, fly away at the Age of Seaventy Eight Years old, after having been 'till then so Potent, that he had often Created a Jealousy in the Emperour. He Embark'd upon the *Isar*, and for a Retreat repair'd to the Bishop of *Saltzburg*: But Fortune being minded to make him sensible of her Pow'r in his own regard, before his eyes caus'd a Boat to sink, containing a part of his Adherents and Servants. This Duke having thus abandon'd his Territories, they were giv'n up to Plunder, and the Souldier had matter to sate his Avarice. Nevertheless the Viscount *de Turenne* had a grudging to pursue the Enemies, who had made their Retreat towards *Passau*; but *Wrangel* oppos'd it, under pretence of some Correspondence he had in Low'r *Austria*, having a mind to Invade that Province. The Viscount *de Turenne* not prevailing with this General to be of his mind, was oblig'd to follow his, least thro'a Separation the Enemies might fall upon his back. Thus away they march'd towards the River *d'Inn*, where after having in vain attempted the Castle of *Wasserburg*, they set to making a Bridge; but the



the Waters encreas'd so in the Night, that they carry'd away all the Boats. After they had been got together again, they sought out another place where they fancy'd they might with more ease effect their purpose: But the Commons being assembl'd from all parts, and presenting themselves on the Bank of the River, they needcd only to second the furious Impetuosity of the Water, which already put a sufficient obstacle to our Passage. As *Wrangel* was fully bent upon his Design, he was not paul'd by all these Difficulties, and we still sundry times attempted to make a Bridge. Thus having lost much time to no manner of purpose, the Enemies had the means giv'n them to call for Succours from several parts. During these Transactions *Koningsmarck* surpriz'd the little side of *Prague* where he got an Inestimable Booty, and which for his own share only was said to mount to above Twenty Millions; and as he had a Design to render himself Master of the rest of the Town, he Besieg'd it in the forms. This Success whose Sequels were of great Consequence for the *Imperialists*, made them think of forcing the Passages, to go to the Succours of the Belieged; So as that the Viscount *de Turenne* caus'd a Bridge to be laid at *Neufburg*, that in case they pass'd in any Place he might Cut 'em off on the Way. The Business of *Prague* plung'd the Duke of *Bavaria* into utter Despondency; for as the Emperour abandoned all other Designs to attend this, His Countrey remain'd Expos'd as a Prey, without hopes of being able to save it. However *Picolomini*, whom the Emperour had sent in the Head of his Forces, had some regard for his Electoral Highness, and for fear that Despair might Compel him to Conclude some disadvantageous

ons Treaty, he made head against the Viscount de Turenne, then Eating *Bavaria* out of House and Home; while the *Suedes* press'd *Prague*. Thus came they dayly to Blows, but without Engaging all their Forces, which they husbanded on both sides, thro' the inconveniencies that were inevitable if any considerable loss befell them. However they were not sometimes so absolutely Masters of their Soldiers, but that their Courage hurry'd them beyond their Orders, and in one of those Occasions did the Enemies lose the Duke of *Wittenburg*, who had signaliz'd himself so Gloriously, as I said afore, in Defence of the River of *Armuth*. To comfort them for this loss. they had some petty Advantage Two or Three days after, but as these Conflicts were, (properly speaking) only Skirmishes, they decided nothing; The World daily Expected some Considerable Event, when all of a Sudden the Peace was known to be concluded at *Munster* between the Emperour, and *France*, wherein their Allies were comprehended, with exception however to the *Spaniards*. It had been Usher'd, as I said before, by that of the *Hollanders*, who had hereby incurr'd the Blame of the Potentates that had any Alliance with them; but as they had their Reason, as is before related, they let Others talk their fill, and in the mean while enjoy'd the Advantages they had thereby procur'd. As this News was quickly confirm'd by several Expresses dispatch'd on purpose to Both Armies, they stopp'd all Hostilities, so as that the Leaders having nothing more to do, 'till such time as the Ratification of the Peace should come, courted such amuzements as were conformable to their Inclinations. The Viscount de *Turenne* made divers Matches of hunting with the Principal Officers of his Troops; but being one day at that sport,

port with *Wrangel*, who on his side was attended by all the Considerable Officers of his Party, *Jean de Wert* pass'd the *Iser* at *Munic*, and drew near a Place; that was the only inlet into the Forrest; In a trice did he cut off some Dragoons, that had been posted there more for form's sake than out of any Suspicion; and having cast such a terrour among all these Officers, as that there was not one of them but imagin'd himself lost, he was preparing to take the Advantage of his Enterprize, when God rous'd a Buck that shew'd 'em a Way, in the midst of a Marsh, Surrounding the Forrest on all sides. An Officer having try'd whether there was any safety in following him, found it to his desire, and they all following his Traces, thank'd God for the Miracle he had that day perform'd on their Behalf. In the mean while, the Ratifications being come, the Armies retreated. But we on Our side were in no good Estate to enjoy the fruits of the Peace. Dissent troubles arose in *France*, and tho' they were ev'n to Extremity, did nevertheless continue, tho' Violent things are said to be of no long Duration. I have already remark'd that the Squandering away of the finances compell'd the making of New Edicts. This occasion'd Murmurs in the Populace, but as they cou'd do nothing without the Succours of the High and Mighty, their Complaints would have been little minded, had they not joyn'd effects to menaces by the Occasion that was imprudently afforded them. *Emers*, the Super-intendant, having Exhausted his Wit in a vast Number of Edicts, not knowing what to have recourse to, for the filling the Exchequer, insinuated to the Cardinal that he shou'd retain the Pensions of the Officers of the Parliament, of those of the Other Sovereign Courts, and in short of the Presidials, and of

the other Jurisdictions. The Edict having been Seal'd by the Chancellour, a man devoted to the Cardinals Designs, the Parliament far from verifying it, gave an Arrest of Union; that is to say, an Act by which the Sovereign Courts should Unite themselves with one another, to bring a Change in Affairs, so as that the Interest of some Private Persons, did what the Interest of so many Provinces had not been able to bring about, that had groan'd. under Oppression since the Regency. The Court, Dissembling this Affront, made semblance of disgracing *Emery*, and gave the Administration of the Finances to *Monsieur de Lorraine*, and the Edict was revok'd with many other tokens of weakness. During these Occurrences the Prince of *Conde* having won the Battle of *Lewes*, whereof I have before made mention, the Queen-Mother who had not without difficulty consented to all these things, thought her self now in a State of Exerting the Royal Authority, and the Parliament having assist'd at the *Te Deum*, sung at *Notre-Dame*, as a Thanksgiving to God for that Signal Victory, two of it's Members were taken into Custody at their going out of the Church. The People who hated the Cardinal, were in Commotion upon these Tydings; All thronging into the streets, and as the Sedition was going to break-forth, the Queen-Mother sent Persons of Consideration to the People to reduce them by Lenity and Mildness; But being return'd to the *Palais-Royal*, where the King then Resided, after having ran a hazard of their Lives, the Queen-Mother Commanded them to take some Troups of the Guards, and to seize on the Murtherers that pursu'd the Chancellor, when a going to carry new Edicts to the *Palais*. The Command was easier to give than execute, Hundred Thousand men were there already in Arms,

Arms, and those that were at the Head of those Troups having had the Imprudence to cause fire to be giv'n, were quickly forc'd to betake themselves to flight, so to steal away from the fury of a Mobile, no longer capable of Obedience. The Queen-Mother, who had word brought every moment that the Sedition augmented, wou'd not believe it in the least, and continu'd to take Vigorous Resolutions; On this Account was it she receiv'd so ill the Coadjutor of the Arch-Bishop of *Paris*. He advising her to give way for a time to that fury, which she cou'd no longer suppress by force, but having intimation that they were every where Baricadoing it, Necessity requir'd her taking Designs more Moderate and more conformable to the time. In the mean while, the Parliament being assembled, sent a Deputation to the King & his Counsel, to have its Members releas'd that were then in Durance; But these Deputies returning, without having been able to obtain any thing in their favour, the People sent 'em back with Menaces, that if they were once again refus'd the return of their Members, they wou'd go set fire to the *Palais-Royal*, and stab the Cardinal with all his Adherents. The Deputies having not in the least Conceal'd any of these Things from the Queen-Mother, and her Counsel, an Answer was to be glv'n at the very Instant, and tho' the Queens Opinion still was to sustain the Royal Authority to the very last, the Duke of *Orleans* and *Mazarin* having been of another Sentiment, they prevail'd over Her Majesty so as the People had promis'd them what they demanded. This Success gave a new audaciousness to the Parliament, and as it found it self backt by the People, it Pretended to turn out the Cardinal and put in a Minister to its Phancy; for

this purpose Measures were taken with the Duke of Orleans, he being egg'd on to the same thing by the Abbot de la Riviere, then become Bishop of Langras, but not being contented with this Dignity, would needs joyn to it the Lustre of the Purple, which the Cardinal had, in vain sooth'd him with the hopes of : Thus accusing him of having amuz'd him, he was become his Enemy, and lay at Watch for all Occasions to ruine his Eminency. The Cardinal having the Duke of Orleans and the Parliament against him, had now no other Recourse than to the Prince of Condé, then in great Consideration for his New Victory : But the Duke de Châtillon, his Relation, and a Person that had a great Ascendant over his Mind, endeavour'd to direct his Highness from siding with his Eminency, Complaining, as well as la Riviere, that the Cardinal had long promis'd him the Baton of Mareschal of France, without his seeing any effect of his Promises. In fine, all depended on the Byass this Prince should give to his Resolution, when the Mareschal de Grammont being instigated by the Affection he bore the Cardinal, found means to make him incline on his side. Whereupon the Prince of Condé having declar'd he would take the Court and his Eminencies Part, the Parliament that had already pass'd an Arrest against the Cardinal, which Enjoyn'd him to depart the Kingdom, durst not push things farther, and the Duke of Orleans, whose Spirit was so-so Moderate, unwilling to draw upon his Back a Man of the Prince of Condé's fame and Courage, consented to a Conference demanded by the Court, to Salve such Matters as were complain'd of. Nevertheless as La Riviere still possess'd the Duke of Orleans, Cardinal Mazarin judg'd it Convenient to Confirm to him the Assurances he had giv'n him

of a Cardinals Cap, which the Crown was to demand for him at the first Promotion ; and *la Riviere* having taken his Sureties as far forth as such an Affair wou'd allow off, the Obstacle vanish'd that retarded the Publique Accomodation. The Cardinal being thus deliver'd from the misfortune that threaten'd him, instead of thinking to Content *la Riviere*, he phancy'd he ought to be cautious how he procur'd him such a settlement, which wou'd have put him into some manner of Concurrence with him : Nevertheless, he was very much at a loss after what manner to break his word with him. But the Mareschal de *Grammont*, who had an infinite deal of Wit free'd him out of this Plunge, he so order'd matters by the Prince of *Condé's* means, that the Prince *de Conti* his Brother demanded to be made Cardinal at the first Promotion ; and as his Birth did not allow of any one soever to dispute with him that Honour, *la Riviere* saw himself as far off from his hopes as he had phancy'd himself near their Accomplishment. He cou'd not refrain showing his vexation, he hinder'd his master from going as he was wont to the *Palais Royal*, & when he cou'd not dispence himself from going, his Discourse with the Cardinal was tart and eager, and much more ready to quarrel with him, than to give him any good words. The Queen-Mother, being justly incens'd that a man of *la Riviere's* Birth, should so embroile affairs again ; that the Kingdom was ready to relapse into Disorder, and Confusion, propos'd to the Prince of *Condé*, without whom her Majesty durst not venture upon any thing, to have him taken into Custody. But the Prince fearing lest this might the more exasperate the Duke of *Orleans*, and as he was at that time far from the Resolutions which he since embrac'd, he desir'd the Queen to take Milder Courses. The Queen follow'd his Advice, and things

were

were Pacify'd more easily than expected; for *Le Riviere* having had the wind of what was propos'd against him, fearing lest the Prince of *Condé* might suffer him to be Expos'd to that Princesses just Resentment, was the first to Suggest to his Master the Renouncing of that Danger. Yet tho' the times hereby seem'd to have retriev'd their Serenity, yet was it not of any long Continuance; The Parliament being made up of many Members, who out of private Considerations hated the Cardinal, they were not at quiet till they had rais'd new Combinations. They had recourse to the Coadjutor, whose haughty Spirit and full of Ambition was equally inflam'd with the Desire of wreaking his Revenge for the Contempt the Queen had had of him, and to fill the Cardinals Room: However as he did not find his Shoulders strong enough all alone to accomplish so great a Design, he tempted the Prince of *Condé's* fidelity, and insinuated into his Highness such great hopes, that he prevail'd with this Prince to promise him something. However he did not keep his Word with him, which so Vex'd the Coadjutor, that without having regard to the Respect owing to his Birth, he spoke of him in very ungratefull Terms, and which being again told to this Prince, gave the start to that strong Aversion which they since prosecuted against one another. The Coadjutor no longer minding to husband him, Phancying he might pester him so much the more by striking up an Union with the Prince of *Conti* his Brother, out with him at that time upon the account of some Amours, he sought to regain his Confidence, and having but sped too well in that Design, He had him declar'd Head of the Party of the *Prondours*, a name giv'n



to those that had Sworn the Cardinals Ruine. In the mean while the Parliament still continued its meeting, and the Princes of the Blood were there for the most part present, by their Authority to divert the ~~sinister~~ Resolution, that Assembly wou'd otherwise have taken. The Prince of *Condé*, whose hatred to the Coadjutour, Extended to all those who had any Affinity with him, seeing that *Viole*, one of the Boldest *Frondeurs* had bolted out something against the Cardinal, interrupted him smartly, and the Other nevertheless continuing his Invective, he threatned him with his Hand. This Action did not please the Company, that pretended a Right to Command Pow'rs still above him: But as they were fearfull, all their resentment only appear'd in a surd Murmur, which nevertheless went to his very heart. And indeed whether that his Highness imagin'd he had lost it's Affection by what had happen'd, or that he was Stimulated by the *Mareschal de Grammont*, he undertook to humble it to that Degree, as that it never more might be in a Condition to attribute so much Pow'r to it self. Yet a Difficult matter was it for him to effect his Purposes, for the *Parisians*, infinite in number, made its Cause their own, and the Court had Sufficiently perceiv'd by what had happen'd, that there was no imprisoning any of its Members with Impunity, wherefore he took another Course, which was to block up *Paris*, hoping the *Parisians* would no sooner find Scarcity and Dearness in their Town, but that they would attribute their Miseries to those they then stil'd their Protectors. The Design was Great, this Prince having but Seav'n or Eight thousand Men, but his Passion showing him more things easy than they really were, he prevail'd with the Duke of *Orleans*, to Strike in with this Resolution, by the means

means of the Abbot *de la Riviere*, to whom he promis'd that the Court wou'd abandon the Prince of *Conti's* Interests at *Rome* for the giving him satisfaction. This Resolution being taken, they caus'd the King to leave *Paris* with the Duke *D'Anjou* his Brother, and the Queen carry'd him to *St Germain en Laye*, to see from thence, as from off a Theatre, what wou'd be the result of so great an Enterprize. In the mean while the *Grande'es* were solicited by each side to declare themselves, and the Parliament allur'd-in some of them dayly to come and offer it their Service, for they did not speak their Intentions to be against the King, on the Contrary they publish'd Manifests, by which they made appear that the Cardinal to stretch the Royal Authority too far shock'd all the orders of the Kingdom, and brought the State within an ace of it's Ruine. Besides the Prince of *Conti*, who had embrac'd it's Party, as I have already hinted, the Duke *d'Elbeauf*, the Duke *de Bonillon* and several others had already declar'd themselves in it's favour. The Viscount *de Turenne* was press'd to do the same with his Army, and the Duke *de Bonillon*, expecting these Commotions wou'd make way for his Restauration in *Sedan*, never ceas'd soliciting him to draw near *Paris*. He was Deaf to his Persuasions, as long as there were any Enemies in the Field, but seeing the Peace made, he began to think it no such Criminal business to improve his Brothers Pretensions, joyn'd to this that he was piqu'd against the Cardinal, who, after such long Services, had newly refus'd him a favour he had requir'd of him for one of his Friends. The Cardinal, distrusting his Resentment, forthwith dispatcht away *Hervart*, Controllour General of the Finances, to his Army; and *Hervart*, by the

means of his Money, having gain'd the Colonels, they abandoned the Viscount *de Turenne*, tho' they had promis'd his Excellency to assist him in all his Undertakings. *Hervart's* Design was after this to have seiz'd on his Person, but having notice giv'n him by an Officer, he stept aside betimes, and made his Escape. The *Spaniards* knowing his Experience, did all in their Pow'r to get him enter *France* in the Head of one of their Armies; but as things were not long without coming to an Accommodation, they cou'd not derive all the Advantages they expected from these Com-motions.

In the meanwhile the Blockade of *Paris* made so numerous a People Clamour, and perceiving a Scarcity on the very first day of the March, above half of 'em repented of what they had done; however now it was too late, the Parli-ament, in whom resided the Sovereign Authority, not being reduc'd to such great Distress, far from talking of humbling themselves pass'd a new Ar-rest against the Cardinal; but the Prince of *Condé*, without stopping thus at such frivolous things, proceeded from menaces to deeds, and the *Parisians* being still Masters of *Charenton*, a passage upon the River *de Marne*, he resolv'd to drive 'em thence, He encharg'd the Duke *de Châtillon* with that At-tack, while he himself advanc'd upon an Hill on this side *Paris* to oppose the Succours. And indeed an infinite Number of People departed out of this Great City, that having repell'd them with two or three Squadrons, he Surpriz'd his own Party, as well as the Enemies by so Extraordinary a Boldness; This having favour'd the Duke *de Châtillon's* at-tack, he won the first Retrenchments with a singular Bravery: But when there was but one Barricade more

more to force, he receiv'd a Musket-shot; of which he dy'd the next day, to the great grief of the Prince of *Condé*, who lov'd him sufficiently to have procur'd him the greatest Employments. His Disaster did not hinder the Royalists from making themselves Masters of the Barricade; but this Burrough was of too small Censure to comfort the Prince of *Condé* for the loss he had had. There were several other petty Engagements to gain or defend Other Posts, but they were all Disadvantageous to the Parliament, which as much enhanc'd the Prince of *Condé's* Glory, as it lessen'd that of the Generals that had undertaken its Defence. The *Parisians* who had daily promises of having the Passages open'd, knew not what to say of all this, and mutter'd aloud enough against the Parliament, to give occasion to fear they wou'd abandon it. They began to say publickly that the Peace was preferable to so Unhappy a War, and the Parliament not being in a Capacity to continue it, wou'd willingly have found out a favourable means to have return'd into its Duty. Of all the Persons of Quality that were in its Party, there was not one but had Commerce at Court, none of 'em thus standing out, but to reap the more Advantage. Thus now were they the Impediments to the Conclusion of the Peace: Nevertheless not a man of 'em wou'd be the first to propose it, for fear such a tender might be Injurious to his Fortune: But the Court whose Interest requir'd the appeasing these troubles with the soonest, sent an Herald to the Parliament with a Letter, and the Parliament Embracing that Occasion to make its Peace, sent back the Herald with his Letter, under Colour that Heralds being only sent to Sovereign Princes, and to Enemies, they had neither of those Qualities to receive him; but that

if it pleas'd the King they wou'd send Deputies to *St Germain* to be inform'd of his Will and Pleasure. The Queen-Mother was too sagacious to miss of perceiving from whence these Submissions departed, but labouring under the Apprehension, that the *Spaniards* might improve these Disorders, to whom the Prince of *Conti* had allready sent an Agent, she took that Occasion by the foretop to make proposalls of Accommodation; they agreed upon a Congress at *Ru. l.* and at length after some Contests on Both sides. a Treaty was made, which brought some Appearance of Serenity; I say appearance, because the Minds of the Grandees were possess'd with too much Ambition to leave the People long in Quiet. A generall Amnesty was granted to those that had been tampering in this Affair, and the Viscount *de Turenne* returning by this Means, he kept Close about the Prince, who after such Signal Services had reason to Expect Compliance from the Court to all his Desires. During all these hub-bubs, the Enemies had Caus'd the Siege of *Cambray* to be rais'd, which the Count *de Harcourt* had attack'd with all his forces, and they recover'd the Towns of *Tpres* and of *St. Venant*, with some Other Posts on that side. All these Places had been so ill Defended, that it's incredible how much Weakness, not to say Cowardice, our Men shew'd in those Occasions. But all these Losses wou'd have been quickly repair'd, without the Civill Warr which began more fiercely for the Reasons I am going to deduce. What the Prince of *Condè* had newly done in favour of the Cardinal, produced two effects; One that this Prince pretended all was owing to his Deservings; the Other, that the Cardinal seeing he was nearer to be satisfy'd, resolv'd upon getting ridd of the Dependancy

pendancy he was going to fall under. For that purpose he inill'd a jealousy into him of all People, so farr as to persuade his Highness, the *Frondesurs* had a design upon his Life. The Prince of *Condé* that did not love them over-much before, redoubt'd his aversion for them, and they not thinking themselves in safety at least without joining themselves to the Cardinal, they diving into his Sentiments, forgot the hatred they had for his Eminency. The Cardinal finding his Advantage in treating with them, did not boggle on his side to follow that Course; Inasmuch that the only difficulty lay in ingaging the Duke of *Orleans*, or rather *la Riviere*, who was entirely devoted to the Prince of *Condé*, upon his giving him his Promise to Serve him, as has been already mention'd, in obtaining him the Cardinals Cap. But the Coadjutour being in no ill terms with this Duke, having found the means to inject into his Royal Highness a jealousy of the Prince of *Condé*, who had had the imprudence some days afore to beat an Officer of his Guards, He made him Swear he would not reveal to the Queen what he had to tell him, and after having taken his Oath, which he caus'd him to make upon the Bible, he propos'd to him the Securing the Person of the Prince of *Cordé* of that of the Prince of *Conti*, and of the Duke *de Longueville* their Brother-in-Law. And indeed this feat was not to be done at twice, because there had been danger in Confining some without All. The Duke of *Orleans* after having acquiesc'd in the Reasons the Coadjutour brought him, to make him approve of this Design, conferr'd with the Cardinal, and the thing having been resolv'd on between them two, they purposely brought a Cause into Debate, then depending in the Council, for one of the Duke of *Longueville's* Relations, hoping

hoping they would all three meet there for i's Accomplishment. In the mean while, the Guards were doubl'd, but that this might not give the Prince of *Condé* any suspicion, he had a forg'd Secret paulm'd upon him, as under the Rose, so as that he thought it only with intent of Securing certain Persons that held insolent Discourses against the Present Government; Yet he had notice from several Parts not to go to the *Palais-Royal*, and that there was some Design against his Person; but his Destiny harrying him into the Precipice, he was Secur'd in the Queens Closet, with the Prince de *Conti*, and the Duke de *Longueville*. He was committed into the hands of the Count de *Mieffens*, who at the head of Sixteen *Gens-d'armes*, conducted him to *Vincennes*, taking his way thro' the field, least by going thro' the Town some Accident might befall him. As soon as this News was spread about *Paris*, His friends, fearing to be involv'd in his Misfortune, fled their Ways, some into *Normandy*, Others into *Guienne*, in hopes of Causing those two Provinces to revolt. But the Queens forecast render'd all their Designs Abortive, so as that there wou'd not have been the least Bustle or Commotion, if the Viscount de *Turenne*, who had receiv'd new Outrages from the Cardinal, His Eminency having refus'd him the Government of *Auvergne* after having promis'd it him, had not Repair'd to *Stenay*, a Place giv'n to the Prince of *Condé*, as a Reward for his Services. He had so little Money when he left *Paris*, that he had not wherewithall to perform his Journey; But in *Champagne* he met with a Gentleman at his Devotion, who gave him Six Hundred *Golden-Lewisses*. The Dutcheß of *Longueville* arriv'd at *Stenay* in a few days after with her Jewels, which she offer'd the Viscount de *Turenne* to raise Forces, and

and for the more efficacious endeavouring the Freedom of her Brothers and her Husband. As the Money that cou'd be rais'd upon them was not sufficient for so great a Design, they resolv'd upon sending an Agent to the Arch-Duke. But while they were in expectation of his Answer, the Viscount *de Turenne* not being proof against the Charms of that Princess, fell in Love with her Highness. She was of a Complexion extremely tender, and of which several Persons neither of his Merit nor Quality had had Instances: But some reason I know not of rendring him more Unhappy than others, she was not contented with being Cruel to him, but she also past railleries upon his Passion with *la Monssaye*, Governour of *Senay*, so as that instead of continuing to love her, he slighted her extremely. At length came th'Arch-Duke's Answer, and being conformable to expectation, the Viscount *de Turenne* departed with some Troups that were at his disposal to go joyn the Body of an Army the Arch-Duke was to commit to his Conduct. They Confer'd and Consulted together what Course they hnd best to take, and having laid their measures, the Viscount *de Turenne* entred *France*, while that the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had Correspondencies in his own Country, advantag'd himself of so promising a juncture. The Marquis *de la Ferté Seneterre* was sent against the Duke of *Lorrain*, while that the Marechal *du Plessis*, who had been sent for from *Italy*, march'd against the Viscount *de Turenne*. This Prince's Design was to draw as near as he cou'd to *Paris*, to seize on the Passes of the Rivers, and to advance with Two Thousand Horse as far as *Vincennes*, from whence he pretended easily to free the Princes. And indeed he had already got Possession of all the



the Passes as far as *Vela-Feré Milon*, when by the Treachery of the Count de ——— the Arch-Dukes Favourite, who had a Pension of a Hundred Thousand Livres from the Cardinal, and to whom the Arch-Duke had reveal'd the Secret, the Princes were remov'd to *Marcoussis*, and from thence to *Haure de Grace*. This Count had also Correspondence at the Court by the means of the Duchess *de Chevreuse*, with whom he had had a Charming Engagement, at the time of her being at *Bruxelles*, under the Reign of the Late King, and she had procur'd him this Pension in Acknowledgement for the Pleasant Pastime he had procur'd her during her abode in *Flanders*: But tho' this Pension was so considerable, the Cardinal did not grudge his money after having receiv'd so wholesome an Advertisement.

The Viscount *de Turenne* having miss'd his Aim, brush'd back the the same way he came, and went and posted himself near *Sompais*, where the Arch-Duke was arriv'd in Person. The Mareschal *du Plessis* had Coasted him in his Retreat; and the two Armies Skirmish'd dayly without daring to Engage in a Battle; for on th'one sideth' Arch-Duke was afraid, that if he lost the Day, he shou'd find it difficult to make his Retreat, and on th'other the Mareschal *du Plessis* lest the very Heart of the Kingdom for a Prey, if Fortune prov'd adverse to him. While that such weighty Considerations with-held both sides, Cardinal *Mazarin* repair'd to the Mareschal *du Plessis's* Army, and giving him order to Fight, he staid in the Camp where he lay upon the bare Ground, without fearing to sully his Purple. He made some largess to the Souldiers to oblige them to do their Duties, and having spent the Night under some disquiet for

forth'event, Break of day was no sooner come;  
 than that the Mareschal *du Plessis* drew-up his  
 Troups in Battle-array; The Arch-Duke and the  
 Viscount *de Turenne* did the like on their side, and  
 the two Armies being separated only a Musket-  
 Shot from one another, quickly came very furiously  
 to Blows. The Success was equal on both sides  
 at the first brush, the Arch-Duke's Right Wing,  
 where he was in Person, was put to Rout; while  
 the Viscount *de Turenne*, Commanding the Left,  
 broke the Mareschal *du Plessis's* Right Wing.  
 The Viscount thinking to improve the advantage he  
 had, & to compleat the Battle at a blow, attack'd the  
 Enemies left Wing; but this being in good order  
 made such a Defence, as gave the Right leisure to  
 rally, and the Arch-Duke having not been able to  
 do the like with his, the Viscount *de Turenne* was  
 quickly encompass'd on all sides: He did wonders to  
 dispute the victory, but having been forsaken by the  
 Arch-Duke, nay and by a part of those that fought  
 under him, he was forc'd to Court his safety in his  
 flight. He had not gone a League when he perceiv'd  
 himself pursu'd by a Squadron, which made him say  
 to those about him, that there was no other Course  
 to take than to face about upon the Enemies: These  
 his followers, being all Officers and men of great Cou-  
 rage, having declar'd to him they were ready to do  
 all he thought expedient, they marchall'd themselves  
 in order, and the Viscount *de Turenne* leading them  
 forthwith to the Charge, they utterly routed this  
 Squadron, the most of whose Troupers were kill'd  
 upon the Spot. Having thus got rid of this importu-  
 nate Attendance, they continu'd their way with the  
 more freedom; but to this inconveniency there Suc-  
 ceeded another, which though not so dangerous,  
 was not the less pressing. Hunger and Thirst began  
 to

to distress them in such manner, that it was impossible for them to support them any longer. At length the Viscount *de Turenne* pitying them more than he did himself, made up to a Wood, with whose least Paths he was acquainted, and having bid 'em follow one that led 'em to a Spring, he alighted off his Horse, and having unbridled him, he held him to graze himself, while his men went to quench their Thirst, One of whom brought him water in his hat, and having found it in this manner the most delicious Beveridge in the world, he mounted again on Horse-back, and march'd untill he saw a light. He went directly thitherwards, and found it to be a Mill, where, some of his Men that had timely made use of their Heels, were retired; they had a Gigot of Mutton, and a Loin of Pork upon the Spit, of which he Eat with such an Appetite, that he thought he should never have been sated. The Horses also met with Provender, so as that after having made so good a meal, he reacht the frontiere, where he joyn'd the Wrecks of his Army. This Defeat so puffed up the Cardinal, that he troubl'd not much his head about contenting the *Frondeurs*. And this making them consider that they had only labour'd for his Settlement, resolv'd to ruine him. The Duke of *Beaufort* who immediately after the Kings Death had had singular marks of the Queens good Will, had, as well as the Prince of *Condé*, Experienc'd a strange Reverse of fortune. The Cardinal, thro' the Ascendant he had got over this Princesses mind, had found the means to render this Duke suspected, and he had undergone a hard Captivity, instead of the favours he might reasonably have Expected. However he had happily made his Escape out of the *Danjon of Vincennes*; but was so animated against the Cardinal, that his Sufferings were as present as

if he still endured them : He was become Head o  
the Party of the *Frondeurs*, but had little Commerce  
with the Court, which made him gratefull to the  
People, having withall Popular Manners. The Dis-  
position of his mind wou'd have been very advan-  
tageous for the Liberty of the Princes, if another  
thing had not been a great Obstacle. He was a  
Sworn Enemy of the Prince of *Condé*, who on his side  
having declared himself absolutely against his House,  
was partly the Occasion of his Misfortune, for he  
had openly oppos'd the Match which the Cardinal  
wou'd have made 'tween one of his Nieces and the  
Duke of *Merceur*; this Dukes Eldest Brother, and  
the Cardinal had resented this so highly that he  
had hasten'd his Ruine. The Duke of *Nemours* being  
in th' Interests of the Prince of *Condé*, and having  
marry'd a Sister of the Duke of *Beaufort*, might  
indeed, be a mediatour between them, but he was  
not in over-good terms with his Brother-in-Law,  
for that his Carriage was not over-kind to the Sister.  
He was in Love with *Madam de Châtillon*, and ei-  
ther out of Complaisance to his Mistress, or that  
he did not Love his Wife, he refrain'd her Bed,  
The Prince of *Condé's* friends fearing lest his Im-  
prisonment shou'd be very long, and not seeing  
any speedier Remedy than to come to an Accom-  
modation with the Duke of *Beaufort* and his Cabal,  
they went to the Duke of *Nemours*, and engag'd him  
to remain some time without seeing *Madam de Châ-  
tillon*. This Prince did still more, He lay with his  
Wife, and having hereby regain'd her Affection,  
She reconcil'd him with the Duke of *Beaufort*  
her Brother. This good understanding having  
made way for what was desired, the Affair of the  
Princes was brought into Deliberation : But as the  
*Frondeurs* demanded Conditions, which the Duke  
of

of *Nemours* could not grant, without first knowing the Prince of *Condé's* mind, he was sent to, under pretence of *Madam* the Princess of *Condé* his Mother's Last Will and Testament, she Dying at *Châtillon* upon *Loir* a little while afore. The Person that went to his Highness, having had leave to discourse him in private, he explain'd to him th'Occasion of his Journey, and having told him that there wanted only his Consent for his being again at Liberty, the Prince of *Condé* gave a Promise in Writing, touching the Prince of *Conti* his Brothers Marriage with *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse*, which was the unravelling of the whole Affair, from the very Moment that the Promise was seen by the *Frondeurs*, they imagin'd it to be a rye that was going to link them so fast to one another, that it wou'd be indissoluble : Upon this supposition they went to the Duke of *Orleans* who was not over-well satisfy'd with the Cardinal, and having still animated him by Reports full of Cunning and Artifice, and wherein some Truths were blended, they made his Royal Highness vow that Eminency's Ruine. The Parliament far from extinguishing the hatred it bore him, had still augmented it. Thus finding so fair an Occasion to ruine him, all these Powers combin'd together to effect that Design. The Parliament pass'd Arrests against him, the Duke *d'Orleans* told the Queen that he wou'd come no more to the Council as long as he shou'd be near her Person, and the *Frondeurs* tho' they durst not talk altogether so loud, yet said enough to make the Queen apprehend some fatall Revolution. In the mean while, they all demanded the Princes Freedom, as a thing on which depended the Peace of the State ; and it was a wonder to see that those who had alone

Conspir'd

Conspir'd to ravish them of it, shew'd themselves so Zealous for their recovering it. As the Parliament perceiv'd the Queen had much ado to resolve upon the Cardinals remove, and to the Princes being set at Liberty, it redoubl'd its Arrests against that Minister, and pass'd one in favour of the Prisoners; so as that the Queen apprehending some Disorder, consented at the long run, that the Cardinal shou'd go off, and the Princes be releas'd out of Prison. Yet this notwithstanding she was some days without, Expediting an Order under the Privy Signet necessary for their Liberty; but being press'd she cou'd no longer refuse it. The Cardinal being the cause of this Delay, tho' absent from Court, having notice of what Occur'd, receiv'd at the same time an Order just like that which had been Expedited, and was dated two days before, and departed immediately for *Havre*, he pretended the Princes shou'd have th' obligation of their Freedom to him; Yet he durst not come into their Presence till he had first pump't them by the *Mareschal de Grammont*. But the Prince of *Condé* had too much Wit to be slurr'd upon in this manner, and having told his mind to that Mareschal, his friend, the Mareschal fear'd he shou'd not prevail with him to see the Cardinal. In the mean while, the Mareschal ply'd him with so many reasons, and represented to him so many inconveniencies in this refusal, that this Prince at length consented to his Introduction. The Cardinal enter'd trembling, and setting about Excusing himself, the *Mareschal de Grammont* perceiving he wou'd make a Blundering Business on't, interrupted him, saying, that all thoughts were to be discarded of what had pass'd, He invited them to drink together, and the Prince of *Condé* being loth to do it, as longing to be out, wou'd not suffer any thing to be discuss'd.

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But calling for a relishing Bit, and taking a Glass, he drank the Cardinals Health, and then rose up immediately. Each having done the like, tho' they had not had time to put a Crumb into their Mouths, the Prince of *Condé* went down out of his Chamber, the Cardinal keeping Close at his Elbow, desiring him to remember upon Occasion that his Imprisonment was the work of the *Frondeurs* and not his, that he it was on the Contrary that contributed to his Freedom, and that if his Advice had been follow'd, his Highness had obtain'd it sooner. The Prince of *Condé* made him no great Compliment, and taking Coach he drove away for *Rouen*, from whence he got to *Paris* in three days. All the Town went out four Leagues to meet him, and the Duke of *Orleans* went to receive him at *St. Denis*, where he presented the Duke of *Beaufort*, and the Coadjutor to him. He Embrac'd 'em both, and after having thank'd 'em all for procuring him his Freedom, he mounted into the Duke of *Orleans's* Coach, wherein went also the Prince *de Conti*, and the Duke *de Longueville*, with the Duke of *Beaufort*, and the Coadjutor. They went to alight at the *Palais Royal*, follow'd by an infinite Number of People, who proclaim'd by their Huzza's and Acclamations the joy they had for their Return: They were receiv'd by the King and Queen-Mother, with seeming Marks of Good will; But this notwithstanding the Cardinals Spirit still reign'd at Court, though his Person was at a Distance; this Manifested it self Two Days after by the Reproaches the Queen made certain Persons that went to visit the Prince of *Condé*; Nay the happen'd to bolt out publickly, that the Court was become a Desert now since the Prince of *Condé's* Return, which being told again to this Prince,

Prince, he conceived suspicions, as by what happen'd afterwards, were found not to be ill grounded. In the mean time the Exiles return'd, that is to say, those that withdrew upon the Princes Imprisonment. The Viscount de Turenne return'd also, tho' the Spaniards had endeavour'd to get him stay with them by a Thousand fair offers, with which they thought to have tempted his Fidelity; but this Prince made great difference between such an Action as this, and that he had done. Being come to Paris, the Prince of Condé receiv'd him with open Arms, and as a man that had for his sake expos'd himself to all sorts of Danger: But some days after, this Prince appear'd more cold and reserv'd thro' the Dutchess of Longueville's persuasions, she complaining he had aspers'd her with poynant Raileries, when he was with the Arch-Duke. The Viscount de Turenne finding by this unjust carriage how things went, and how unworthy it was after what he had done for him so lately, thought not fitting to enter upon great Justifications, but laying hold on that occasion to divorce himself from him, he made his Court more assiduously to the Queen who had giv'n him a favourable Reception, and let nothing slip that might wed him to her Service. In this Design she caus'd some Offers to be made him by *Messieurs de Lionné* and *le Tellier*, who in the Cardinals Absence were her most trusty Agents, as being very affectionate to the Cardinal: But he made answer, that his humour was not to sell his Services; that his Refusal did not however proceed from the desire of embracing other Interests; that he shou'd thence-forward espouse those of that Princess as much or more than those in whom she most Confided, and that when he should have thereby merited some Reward, he wou'd receive



ceive it more willingly than at present, that he own'd himself unworthy of her Bounties. The Queen knowing the occasion he had to complain of the Prince of *Condé*, found something so handsome in this Answer that she us'd still further endeavours to gain him; but he neither chang'd his Sentiment nor Style, which the Queen attributed to his Policy, imagining that what he did to be only that he might not come to an absolute breach with the Prince of *Condé*. In the mean while matters were more than ever embroil'd at Court, Letters had been intercepted from the Cardinal to the Abbot *Fouquet*, and from th' Abbot *Fouquet*, to the Cardinal, by which a Thousand Engines were discover'd for the procuring his Return: All the Grandees mutter'd, and cut at the Root of all these Mischiefs, the *Frondeurs* press'd the Prince of *Condé* to conclude *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse's* Match with the Prince of *Coni*, that was to remove all the Jealousy they might harbour of his Conduct. In effect this Prince having forgot that his Freedom had only been mediate and obtain'd on this Condition, dayly found Pretexes to retard that Alliance, and the least delay being Suspicious in the then present posture of Affairs, the *Frondeurs* fell into inconceivable Diffidencies, and such as were not without Foundation. In effect the Prince of *Condé* being cover'd with Glory by his past Actions, seem'd to think only of his own Interests; he had listen'd to some Proposals made from the Queen, and tho' he feign'd at first that he cou'd not enter upon any Negotiation to the Prejudice of his Friends. This was only to wrest the more advantage to himself: And indeed when he had got with the Promise of the *Guyenne* Government of a world of considerable matters for his Relations and Creatures, he

no

no longer shew'd himself so scrupulous ; but as there wou'd have been weakness in him to be the Author of the Cardinals Return, he that had made him undergo so harsh a Captivity, he demanded to clear himself in some manner in the world, that the Queen shou'd not oblige him to contribute thereto, and that she shou'd be contented with his not interposing any obstacle. This was all the Queen desired ; thus it prov'd no Difficulty. But another made the Prince of *Condé* more at a loss, which was to disengage himself handsomly from the Match of *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse*, with whom the Prince of *Conti* being fall'n in Love, it was not easy to dissuade him from it. As the Prince of *Condé* had kept all very Secret, he had Negotiated with the Queen, it had been difficult for the *Frondeurs* to shrift into it ; but perceiving by his Deportment, that there must need be something more than ordinary in Agitation, they desir'd to make so sure of the Prince of *Conti*, as to prevent his giving ear to the Counsels that shou'd be inculcated into him. For this purpose they resolv'd to proceed to the Marriage, and secretly sent to *Rome* for a Dispensation, by reason of the Kindred between those Parties. The Coadjutour being Almighty in *Paris* for these sorts of matters, they pretended by his means that the Dispensation being once come they should be marry'd without the Privy of any. The Prince of *Conti* to content his Passion further'd their Designs, *Madam de Chevreuse* to see her Daughter a Princess of the Blood desired it, and the Daughter long'd for nothing More than to be Marry'd. In a word all *Paris* had an Extreme desire to see this Matter brought to a Conclusion, when the Prince of *Condé* having intimation of what occur'd, told the Prince of *Conti* that being so well shap'd and

Handsome a Person, he had reason to seek after some further Pleasingness; that his Marriage was going to adorn his Head more than he imagin'd, that he wou'd have horns loaded with Mitres, Arms and Corner-Caps, and in fine by taking *Made-moiselle de Chevreuse* for his Wife, he was going to make sure to himself of the Church, of the Nobles and of the third Estate. Thereupon he pointed out to him the Coadjutour, the Marquess de *Noirmoufier* and *Commarsin* to be his Mistresses Intimate friends; and as the Distance is not great from a great Passion to a great Jealousy, the Prince of *Conti* was so Strongly seiz'd with the later, that he reproach'd his Brother with not having giv'n him notice sooner. Nothing at all had been known of this Conversation, but for the Prince of *Conti*, he being too much smitten to hold his Peace; He discourt his Mistress upon the Matter, but in such bitter terms, as provoak'd her. *Madam de Chevreuse* shar'd as fair as became her in her Daughters Resentment, as well as all the Caball; but the Coadjutour, a Man naturally violent, Suffer'd himself to be hurry'd to so great an Excess of Anger, that if he had been of the Quality and Profession of the Prince of *Condé*, he wou'd not have staid so long without taking his Revenge. For want of this Satisfaction, he made his Party resolve upon Contriving the Means to ruine that Prince, and having none more certain than by salving up Matters again with the Queen, he made all the Advances, and thereby broak the Treaty which the Prince of *Condé* had rough-drawn with her. The Queen, to keep some Measures nevertheless, pretended that *le Tellier* and *de Guise* had Engag'd her beyond the Orders she had giv'n them, she retrench'd her self to less advantageous Offers, she propos'd still some Accommodation, Suspecting he wou'd

wou'd not abate the least of what had been promis'd him. In effect this Prince seeing he had been paulm'd upon, was rather contriving to engage the Queen in New Troubles, than to accept of the Proposals tendred him, and the Duke of *Orleans* being necessary to his Design, for the gaining him, he buckled his Spirit to all sorts of Complaisances. The Dutches of *Longueville*, who for some little Amours was out with her Husband, who dayly threatned her to carry her into his Government of *Normandy*; Nay, to shut her up, did in the mean while all she cou'd by the means of her Lovers, to whet him on to raise a Civil War, imagining that in a time of Confusion and Disorder, they wou'd have something esse to do than to mind her Conduct. Thus the Prince of *Condé* being Excited by his Resentment, by the Interest of his Sister, whose Reputation he had a mind to Spare in the Eyes of the Publique, and by the Persuasion of his friends, employ'd his thoughts wholly upon gaining new Creatures, and to assure himself of those over whom he formerly had Pow'r. As he stood not in the same terms with the Viscount *de Turenne* as he had done before his Return, he grew servent again in his Regards for him, hoping this new Ardour wou'd produce its effect: But the Viscount *de Turenne* without unbosoming himself either one way or th' Other, receiv'd as became him the marks of his Amity which not satisfying the Prince of *Condé*, he Engag'd him in a Design of Pleasure he was to be present at in the *Marsis*, hoping that amidst Wine and Debauchery, wherein the greatest Sages commonly discover their Sentiments, it wou'd be easy for him to conjecture what was from him to be Expected. The Viscount *de Turenne* wou'd not deny him going thither; but shew'd himself so reserv'd, that the Prince of *Condé*

not being able to fix any judgment that tended to his Advantage, was oblig'd to induce him to a Clearer Explication of his Sentiments. Whereupon Persons having spoken to him on his behalf, he made them answer, that he was his Highnesses Servant, but that his Highness had us'd him so ill, that he was not resolv'd to Espouse his Interest to the Prejudice of his own; that he had not thought of his friends since his return, tho' he might have done them Service; that on the Contrary he had affected to rob 'em of the Knowledge of all he had treated of under-hand, as if he had been afraid of their Partaking in his good fortune, as they had done in his bad; that to have an Occasion, not to do any thing for him, he had laid hold of some ill-grounded Complaints of *Madam de Longueville*, tho' he had let him know that she it was that had held Discourses to her own Disadvantages, that he had run himself over Head and Ears in Debt upon his Account, and that being lately Marry'd, it became him to mind more narrowly his Affairs. In effect, he had newly Marry'd the Daughter of the *Duke de la Force*, an Extreme Virtuous Lady, and more considerable thereby, than by a thousand other Qualities, which nevertheless render'd her very commendable, for besides her being of one of the Best Families in *France*, she had a vast fortune, and was besides handsom enough to invite the Affection of a Husband. The Viscount *de Turenne* answer having made the Prince of *Condé* presume that it wou'd be difficult for him to Engage him on his side; Yet wou'd he try all sorts of Ways rather than be baulk'd of his hopes; and as the *Duke of Bouillon* did not seem so Malecontent, tho' he wou'd not give him any positive Word, he tender'd him a World of Advantageous things for them both;

he desir'd the Duke of *Bouillon* to hint it to his Brother, for the Viscount de *Turenne* had a Regiment of Horse of Sixteen Hundred Troupers, with his Regiment of Foot, which render'd him still the more considerable to the Prince of *Condé*, whose posture of Affairs at that time needed both Troupa and Friends. These offers mounted to a Hundred Thousand Crowns each, and the Prince of *Condé* Engag'd to procure them, besides this ample Pensions from the *Spaniards*, with whom he was already in Treaty. The Duke of *Bouillon* suffer'd himself to be insensibly lur'd by these fair Promises, and considering that his House had at all times been link'd to that of *Condé*, he endeavour'd to gain his Brother, who took other measures; for he had Commerce with the Queen, who to take them both off from the Prince of *Condé*, made them on her side a very advantageous Offer. However they were both deep in Debt; and for the paying their Creditors, needfull was it to procure themselves the best fortune they could; they did not absolutely break off with the Prince of *Condé*, that they might Whet the Queen to do still more. The Prince of *Condé* knowing their Negotiations, and foreseeing that, considering the State things were in at that time, the Queen wou'd not let them Scape her, press'd the Duke de *Bouillon* to tell him what they both requir'd, that so this Affair might with the soonest be terminat'ed. The Duke of *Orleans*, who by the means of his Daughter was in the Prince of *Condé's* Interests, said the same thing to the Duke de *Bouillon*; and being at length oblig'd to come to a Declaration, he demanded two hundred thousand Crowns for himself and his Brother; that the Parliament of *Bordeaux* should pass the like Arrests against the Cardinal as that of *Paris* had done, that so they might be thereby assured

assured that *Guienne*, whither they pretended to carry the Warr, wou'd side with the Prince of *Condé*; that they shou'd have in the Places, appertaining to him the same pow'r he had there himself, and that, in fine, the *Spaniards* shou'd give them Sureties for a hundred and fifty thousand *Livres* Pension for them Both. The Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Condé* found these Pretensions Extreme great, Especially in regard of the Places, for they pretended to no less than the Power of appointing or deposing Officers; but in short the State of things obliging them to pass over all sort of Considerations, they agreed to all, and the Hour was set for Signing the Treaty at the *Palais d'Orleans* whither the Prince of *Condé* repair'd. But the Viscount *de Turenne* having struck up an Engagement with the Queen, and pretending his Duty oblig'd him rather to take her Part, than that of the Prince of *Condé*, who aim'd at Embroiling the State, told his Brother that he had not giv'n his Word to sign any Treaty, nay that he advis'd him to turn as well as himself to the Queens side, and having both sought out expedients to come off handsomly from this matter, they treated with the Queen, who caus'd the Duke of *Bouillon* to be declar'd Minister of State, & destin'd the Command of the Armies to the Viscount *de Turenne*. During these Transactions matters grew to that exasperation between the Queen and the Prince of *Condé*, that the *Frondeurs* propos'd to her to rid her hands of him by a Violent way. The Queen being a good-natur'd Princess and at a distance from such sorts of Sentiments, rejected this Proposall, but concluded afterwards on that of securing his Person. The *Frondeurs* took upon them to make the Duke of *Orleans* agree to the Matter, he being properly

properly speaking a Weather-Cock for all Winds ; and having atchiev'd what they had promis'd, nothing now remain'd but to contrive th' occasion ; which was some time after Mett with when the Queen least expected it. Going the Tour with the King, she there found the Prince of *Condé* all alone in his Coach, but not having had her Wit so ready as to make use on't, she miss'd a Stroke that wou'd have prevented many Disorders. The Prince of *Condé* having had intimation of the Design that was upon his Person, trembl'd when he saw he had so imprudently giv'n himself up into the hands of his Enemies, and going his ways presently, he resolv'd to have more Caution for the future. However he fell from one extremity into th'other, for Having notice that two Troups of Guards were Commanded out towards the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*, he fancy'd that it was to invest his House, and not willing to stand to that extremity, he took Horse, and advanc'd towards the *Chartreux*, the nearest place to the Hostel of *Condé* to get into the fields, This Alarm'd him extremely, having heard at a distance Horses coming towards him, but it was found to be nothing, this noise being only caus'd by Market-People, bringing their Provisions to *Paris*. Day-light being come he got upon a high place to see what he cou'd discover, and then perceiv'd that those Troups, which had put him into that fright, were going to *Tournelle* to assist with main force the Loyalists that were affronted, for in the then unhappy State of Affairs, every one took such freedoms as wou'd have been sharply punish'd at another time. He was at a great loss whether it was best for him to return to the Hostel of *Condé*, or pursue his first Design of retiring from the Town.

But



But as he had already undergone a hard Captivity, it made him more Susceptible of fear than he otherwise wou'd have been, so he chose to repair to *St. Maur*, one of his Houses, but three small Leagues distant from *Paris*. His Retreat being generally known, so great a number of Persons of Quality went to offer him their Services, that he thought himself more in a State of Creating Fear than of Entertaining Apprehensions. The Queen sent the *Mareschal de Grammont* to him, under Colour of asking him th'occasion of his Retreat, but in Reality to work him to return to *Paris*, where she imagin'd it wou'd be more easy for her to Surprize him: But the Prince of *Conde* bearing an ill will to the *Mareschal de Grammont* for not having Reveal'd the Design in hand to Secure his Person, to which he was Privy, wav'd entring into any Parley with him, and only told him that the Cardinals Spirit still reign'd too much at Court, for any relyance to be had in the Queens Word. However to place his Family in safety, he sent his Wife and only Son to *Montrond*, a strong Place he had in *le Berry*, and *Madam de Longueville* being desirous to free her self from the Apprehension she justly labour'd under, of her Husbands designing to punish her for her Infidelities to him, went along with her Sister-in-Law. Thus the Prince of *Conde* having no longer the trouble of a Wife and Son, the Weakness of the former's Sex, and the Greenness of the others Years, made him dread ill Consequences in case he was forc'd to a suddain Departure, he returned again to *Paris* to re-animate his friends, Especially such as were Members of Parliament, whom endeavours were us'd to Spirit away from him. He found the thing more difficult than he Expected; for besides the Credit the Coadjutour had in that Assembly,

Assembly, the first President to whom he had done an ill turn render'd him as much suspected as he cou'd. Yet as the Present juncture of Affairs requir'd his seeming united with this Body, from whom the People seem'd, if a Man may so say, to borrow its Mo ions. He assist'd at all its Assemblies, Carefs'd One, and Carefs'd Another, and appear'd very wide from that Violence which formerly made him threaten one of its Members. The Coadjutor who would have thought it wou'd have been abandoning the Party, for him not to be present there too assist'd at it in like manner as Councillour of Honour, a Quality attributed to the Arch-Bishops of *Paris*: But knowing the Prince of *Condé* to be perswaded, that him it was that wou'd have insinuated into the *Queen* the Causing him to be Kill'd, he went not thither without being well attended. The Prince of *Condé* not knowing with what Intention he did this, for his part he invited his friends to do the like with him, and Each side bore Arms, nor more nor less than if they were going to War. The *Queen* siding in this Occasion, wou'd have the Coadjutor to be Guarded by a Brigade of *Gens d'armes*, and of the Kings Light Horse, and the Prince of *Condé* that knowing what she did to be rather out of the hatred she bore him, than out of any Love she had for th' Other, more then ever thwarted her Intentions. The only design of this Princess tended to procure the Cardinals Return, but she had difficulties to overcome on all sides before that cou'd be effected; For tho' the *Frondeurs* were seemingly in a strict Union with her Majesty, they had a very different Aim; They were in the Interests of *Châteauneuf*, Keeper of the Seales, who after having possess'd the first Place in the Council, had try'd a Reverse of fortune that had distanc'd him thence;

thence ; Yet the most part did not despair of his being restor'd, and not a Person besides the Coadjutor but wisht it, as not being of a humour to leave to another what made him do so many things unbecoming his Character. However being one day at the *Palais* he happen'd into a great perplexity, for going out of the Great Chamber to hinder any Disorder from happening between his Friends, and those of the Prince of Conde, that staid in the Great-Hall, he saw himself all of a suddain Surrounded with Swords, and if every Individuall had not retired to his own Company, he wou'd have fancy'd, that not a man of 'em All but had his Person for the mark of his Revenge. At length having distinguisht his friends from his Foes, he rang'd himself among the Former, while that the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* plac'd himself at the Head of the Latter. Thus a man wou'd have said they were just going to fight ; but the fear they were under of discrediting their Party in the Parliament, occasion'd their resting satisfy'd with threatning one another. After this they wou'd both return into the Great Chamber ; But as the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* had got the Start, he wayted the others coming behind the Bar-Door, and just upon his passing he Clapt it strongly to, and Caught his Head between the other half of the Door that remain'd shut. The Coadjutor schream'd-out as if he had been upon the point of being Assassinated, and the Parliament being interrupted by all these things, was rather contriving how to appease this Disorder, than to deliberate about the matters for which it was Assembled. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* that he might not shock the Parliament, answer'd the Complaints the Coadjutor made immediately against him, that he had had no Design of insulting him in any manner, and that

that if he had shut the Door, it was only to hinder those of his Party who pursu'd him from wanting Respect to so August a Body : But the Respect born it was so small, that the Duke *de Brissac*, the Coadjutours near Relation fell to using bitter Words, which the Duke *de La Rochefoucault* wou'd never have suffer'd without taking satisfaction, if the Duke of *Oyleans* had not interpos'd to bring 'em to an accommodation. This was a more vexatious Business to the Coadjutour than can be imagin'd, he was Universally blam'd for offering to measure himself with the first Prince of the Blood, and as his Profession did not allow him to do any thing Violent of which all his Actions had the Appearance, what the Prince of *Conde* gave out of him found the more easy Credit, namely that he had a Design of Assassinating him. As the Queen cou'd not doubt of the hatred they bore one another, she look'd upon it as a great piece of Merit from the Coadjutour to her Majesty ; and for th'engaging him to continue as he began, she promis'd him the first Cardinals Cap, which the Court of *Rome* should grant to *France*. Thus in that time of Disorder and Confusion, Vice had the Compensation of Virtue, for sufficient was it for a man to be in a capacity to make himself fear'd by his Intrigues & Cabals, and provided one did not directly thwart the Queens Intentions, he had fair hopes of obtaining any sort of favour. During these Transactions, the Parliament being back'd by the Duke of *Oyleans*, who through his natural inconsistency chang'd his Party as often as his Shirt, dayly perceiving more and more that the Queens whole aim tended to bring about the Cardinals return, who in lieu of distancing himself from *France*, as she had promis'd, staid at *Liege*, pass'd new Arrests against him, importing that not any Cardinal,

hal, tho' of the same Nation, shou'd thence-  
 forward have admittance into the King's Council.  
 The Queen not daring openly to declare her In-  
 tensions, was oblig'd to subscribe to so hard a  
 Condition, by causing an Edict to be expedited in  
 Conformity with the Arrest. This did not hinder her  
 however from sending him money, and the Duke of  
*Orleans* caus'd a Carriage design'd for him to be  
 stop't, that came from the Provinces bordering  
 upon the *Loire*, where the Blood of the People  
 was not spar'd no more than the rest of the King-  
 dom, which was lavisht upon him to facilitate his  
 Return. The Cardinal by the means of this mo-  
 ney rais'd Forces, and having wherewithall to keep  
 in with his Quondam-Friends, and get new,  
 he Fortify'd his Party as much as he cou'd, and  
 did not yet renounce the hopes he had of be-  
 coming more than ever Potent. The People suffer-  
 ing by all these Novelties, complain'd in the mean  
 while, that for the Interest of one single man, the  
 whole State was near it's Ruine: but withall most  
 of the Grandees were, glad that they had this  
 Pretext giv'n them to render themselves the more  
 Powerfull, and tho' that amid their Disobedience they  
 had ever the Publique Good in their Mouth, when it  
 came to the making of Proposals, all turn'd upon  
 their Interests, and not a Word was there about  
 the Poor People. In the mean while the King  
 entred into his fourteenth year, being the time  
 fix'd for the Majority of our Kings, and People  
 hop'd that being a Major he might possibly apply  
 some Remedy to the Evils that afflicted the Realm,  
 principally when he shou'd be let know whence  
 they proceeded, and the Means to be made use  
 of to put a Stop to them: But the wisest Ex-  
 pected but little Ease from that side; they said

it to be a great mistake to believe that a Child foster'd in the Love of his Mother, and in the hatred of the Princes of the Blood, whom he was made to believe had a Design to bereave him of his Crown, had the judgement to discern truth from falshood; that if Our Kings were declar'd Majors at fourteen years of Age, 'twas rather thro' Custom than Reason; that well known it was that at that Age a Man was not capable of any great matter; that it was also Manifest they needed Council more than Ever, by cause that beginning to have some Intentions, yet without being able to distinguish what was wholesome from what injurious, they were to be redress'd and set to Rights when they had made a false Step. And in truth this Ceremony was perform'd with more Pomp and Lustre than Profit, and all the Change there was, consisted in there being no more than the Kings name in the Declarations, whereas that of the Queen was there also before. But the same Maximes, and the same Sentiments still appear'd, so as that it was plainly seen the Peace of the Realm was not hence to be expected. In the mean while the Parliament still continu'd it's Sessions, and not a Week pass'd without receiving two or three Letters under the Privy Signet; but this did not hinder it from pursuing it's Road, and when it had done what it pretended to, they contented themselves with remonstrating to the King th' inconvenience there wou'd be in complying with his Desires; They sent him Deputies ever and anon, that spoke fiercely against the Cardinals Return, which was whisper'd up and down, notwithstanding all th' Assurances giv'n to the Contrary. But at length diverse Letters that were intercepted having left no room for Doubt, the

Prince of *Condé* who had long minuted the War took his journey towards *Guyenne*, after having sent Orders to the *Connts de Tavannes* and *de Marsin* to bring him the Forces that Espous'd his Interests: By this piece of Treason those two Leaders, one of whom commanded in *Champagne* and the other in *Catalonia*, left those two Provinces as a Prey, which very much further'd the Affairs of the *Spaniards*, as well as the Civil-War, which kindled at the same time in sundry parts of the Kingdom: For several Governours, either egg'd-on by the Zeal they had for the Interests of the Prince of *Condé*, or hoping to advance their Fortune, declar'd themselves in favour of his Highness. The King seeing the main of the War was going to fall in *Guyenne*, went into *Poitou*, that so he might be the nearer at hand, after having provided for the Frontiers as far forth as his present Circumstances wou'd allow of. During these Transactions he call'd about him those in whom he cou'd put any Trust, and having Written to the Viscount *de Turenne*, he repair'd to his Majesty at *Poitiers*. Since his return from the Enemies, he had staid in his own Family, where he enjoy'd Ease and Quiet; he had endeavour'd to set his Affairs to Rights by the means of some Benefits he had receiv'd from Court, and seeing that in the Troubles that arose, a great deal of Ambition was mingl'd with the Pretexs laid hold of to trouble the State, he was very glad in having avoided the Ambuscades that had been so long laid to trepan him. Being arriv'd at *Poitiers* he receiv'd from the King and Queen-Mother all the kind Treatments he cou'd desire: For besides their being acquainted with his Merit, as they stood in need of him, they did not stick sometimes doing more for him, than they wou'd have done in another occasion;

occasion; the Queen especially embrac'd him, recommending her Son to him in such terms as Created Compassion; for she had every moment Tydings brought of new Insurrections, which made her afraid that this bad example might seduce others. The Viscount *de Turenne* comforted her the best he was able, and having assur'd her of his Loyalty, he receiv'd her Orders, which were to go oppose the Duke of *Nemours*, who with a Body of Seav'n or Eight Thousand men was on the side of *Montargis*. The Count *de Harcourt* March'd in the mean while against the Province of *Guyenne*, many Towns of which allready repented of their Revolt; for when the business is Waging War against one's own Prince, so many things arise that were not foreseen, that one wou'd often wish it were again to begin. *Bordeaux* was divided into Factions that were all in Appearance for the Prince of *Condé*, but were so opposite one to another, thro' the Private Interest of those at the Head, that the City was dayly upon the Point of it's Ruine. The other Towns in the Province after their Capitals example were not in a better Posture; the most part had declar'd themselves thro' the hatred they bore the Cardinal, but seeing the Remedy they thought to have apply'd to their Evils was worse than the Disease it self, they complain'd that those they had call'd to their Succours were only come to render them still the more miserable. The Prince of *Condé* dissembled these things to his Principal Officers, for fear they might be pall'd by seeing the Weakness of his Party: But at the long run he cou'd not bar them of the Knowledge of it, by a Sedition that happen'd at *Agen*, wherein he wou'd have put a Garrison; He found it a difficult business to disentangle himself handsomly from that matter, whose Consequences he dreaded, as fearing



the other Towns might thereby Square their Conduct. But having terminated things in an amicable manner, tho' a little to his own Diminution, he had news brought him which render'd him again uneasy. The Duke of *Beaufort* had some days afore joyn'd the Duke of *Nemours*, with four or five thousand Men, and pretended, by reason of his having the hand at Court of Forreign Princes, to retain also that Prerogative in the Army: The Duke of *Nemours* did not agree to the matter, and tho' Brothers in-Law they had often come to Blows, if those about them had not narrowly Watcht them. This Division was injurious to their Party, and both remain'd without the least Action, while the King drew near *Anjou*, where the Duke of *Roan* had form'd his Party, thinking to pen him up between the Prince of *Condé* and his Adherents. This News gave (as I have already hinted) a great deal of Vexation to the Prince of *Condé*, and lessn'd the joy he had for some happy Successes gain'd o'er the Marquis de *St. Luc*, the Kings Lieutenant of *Guyenne*. However the time present made him less uneasy than the future, he receiv'd dayly new Advertisements, how that the misunderstanding encreas'd between the Duke of *Beaufort*, and the Duke of *Nemours*, and fearing that this might at the length produce some bad business, he resolv'd to march that way, that so by his Presence removing the Subject of Division between those two Leaders, he might by that means free himself from Apprehensions. The Enterprize was extreme Dangerous, several Provinces, and several Rivers had he to Cross, and this journey was to be perform'd without Attendance, so not to abandon *Guyenne*; but his Fortune having carry'd him thro' all these Difficulties, after having evaded sundry Dangers, he came into the Army of those two Dukes, to the Great Contentment

tentment of all his Adherents. The King had newly reduc'd the Duke of *Roban* to Reason, and was again mounting up the *Loire* to secure the Towns scituated upon that River. The Viscount *de Turenne* having joyn'd the Marquis *d' Hocquincourt*, who had been made Mareschal of *France* for having shewn Great Affection to the Cardinal, to meet whom he had been upon the Frontiers, and had Conducted him afterward to the very Court, Commanded the Army joyn'tly with him; they were in Quarters where *Hocquincourt* thought himself in Safety, as imagining the Prince of *Condé* far distant; But this Prince being desirous to signalize his coming by some illustrious Action, march'd all the Night, and won two of this Mareschals Quarters, before he cou'd put himself into a Posture of Defence. At last *Hocquincourt* having re-assembled all he could in hast, in the general fear by reason of the night, he advanc'd towards the Prince of *Condé*, who after having Plander'd two more of his Quarters, thought to gain the Rest as Easily; His Countenance giving this Prince to understand there not to be that facility in the undertaking as he had imagin'd, he made a halt, to give his Men time, that were here and there dispers'd in Plundering, to rally, and leading them forthwith to the Charge, he Compell'd the Mareschal *d' Hocquincourt* to abandon the Head of a Quarter, and to retreat behind it. The Prince of *Condé's* men set fire to't, and pretended to have pass'd on further, but the other Quarters had had leisure to stand to their Arms, so as that saving some Equipages that were still taken, the Mareschal *d' Hocquincourt* was quit for what he had lost; He put his Infantry into *Bléneau*, and the Horse retired on another side. In the mean while, the Viscount *de Turenne* upon the Notice he had of the Mareschal *d' Hocquincourt's* being attack'd, with the

utmost Expedition he assembled all his Quarters, and without staying for his Infantry, he advanc'd within a Hundred Paces of a Wood that was upon the Way; Had he had his Foot with him, he had possess'd himself of it, before the Prince of *Condé's* Arrival; but his not being come up, he durst not Engage his Cavalry in so disadvantageous a Place. The Prince of *Condé*, who after having beaten, as he had done, the Marechal d' *Hocquincourt*, did not imagine that the Viscount de *Turenne* durst stay his Coming, advanc'd on in the mean time, aiming to Surprize the Court in *Gien*, a Place of small Defence, and incapable to hold out against him. And in truth some Run-aways having carry'd thither the News of their Defeat, it gave such a General Alarum, that they knew not whither to save the Kings Person, and that of the Queen his Mother; as for the Cardinal he was already Booted to betake himself to flight. But the Viscount de *Turenne* having stopp'd the Prince of *Condé*, the Court had more time to come to it self again, and recovering Courage, upon his sending Word thither, that it had no reason yet to be in any fright; the Prince of *Condé* hoping nevertheless utterly to rout him, caus'd his Infantry to Advance, that lin'd the Wood, and as the Viscount de *Turenne* suffer'd Extremely, he Retreated some Paces, which gave him a little Respite. The Prince of *Condé* thinking he gave Ground, caus'd his Horse to march, but the Ground was so inconvenient, that besides it could not hold above Seven or Eight Squadrons afront, there were several Ditches that hinder'd him from drawing up in Battalia. In the mean while, the Viscount de *Turenne* apprehending that if he suffer'd him to Advance further, the whole Army wou'd by Degrees be upon his Bones, he repass'd

a Defile behind which he had posted himself, and making his On-set upon that Cavalry, he overturn'd it upon one another. The Prince of *Condé* was not of a Humour to be paul'd by the first stroke, but the Disadvantage he had in fighting in so disadvantageous a Place, Curbing his Courage, they plaid the Canon the rest of the Day. The Court being very uneasy about the Success of the Battel, sent Couriers after Couriers to be inform'd of it in time; but having Notice that the Prince of *Condé* had not been able to gain his Point, it sent Orders to the Viscount *de Turenne* to retreat at the beginning of the Night; which he easily atchiev'd, by the means of Sundry *Defiles* that Separated the two Armies. He receiv'd from the King, the Queen, and Cardinal, all the Testimonies of Acknowledgement that he cou'd hope for, after so signal a piece of Service; and the Marechal *d' Hocquincourt* only, from whom the vexation of having been beaten, dropt words to the Viscount's Disadvantage, as if he had accus'd him of having contributed to his Defeat, by not Succouring him in due time: But a man overwhelm'd with Affliction had easily granted him the freedom of Complaining, and the Viscount *de Turenne* himself slighted these sorts of Matters, the Diligence he had us'd being by all Sufficiently known. And indeed the Prince of *Condé*, whose humour was to render justice to his very Enemies, did himself openly Proclaim, that but for the Viscount, he had at one stroke put an end to the War, and taking a Pleasure in exaggerating his Valour and Conduct, he seem'd to aim at rendring him suspected to his Party: On the contrary he made a Thousand keen Railleries on the Marechal *d' Hocquincourt*, which did not at all please the Viscount *de Turenne*, who knew that in the present Posture of

things, and in an Age wherein each one glory'd in being Disloyal, there needed no more to make his Fidelity be suspected. The Prince of *Condé* after having gain'd this Advantage, led his Army towards *Châtillon*, and having a Design to take a turn to *Paris*, he took the Duke of *Beaufort* along with him, that his absence might obviate all fresh Disputes with the Duke of *Nemours*, who nevertheless was in little condition for any, as having been dangerously Wounded in the last Battle. During these Transactions the Parliament had pass'd an Arrest, by which it's hatred broke-out more than ever against the Cardinal, for they set his Head at Fifty Thousand Crowns, and to give some sort of Assurance to those that undertook to Kill him, this sum was rais'd by the means of a new Imposition laid upon the People; so as that in th'Unhappy State of the Kingdom, they were become equally the Victims of the Cardinal and his Enemies: But the Odium born this Minister was so Universal, that no body complain'd of this Tax, and never had they paid any so chearfully. The Prince of *Condé* being come to *Paris* found the Parliament and the People in so favourable a disposition for his Highness, that he had nothing more to desire: He was look'd upon by both with Admiration, and he at last conceiv'd such vast, such trowing hopes, that the Cardinal having made him new Proposals of Accommodation, he eluded them all by Exorbitant Demands. The Cardinal, who was a great Politician, prolonging these Negotiations, sometimes by granting him a part of what he demanded, another by opposing him, gave in the mean while the People to understand, that the Prince of *Condé's* hatred for him was not so strong, but that it might be extinguish'd if he wou'd content his Ambition;

so as that this People, that had flatter'd them-  
 selves that he had taken up Arms in behalf of  
 their Interests and for their sakes, & had so often  
 expos'd his Life and Fortune, seeing themselves un-  
 deceiv'd, dwindled insensibly in the kindness they  
 bore him. During all these Intrigues, his Army  
 which he had left on the side of *Châtillon* upon  
*Loin* falling under the want of all Necessaries, the  
 Baron of *Clinchant* and the Count *de Tavannes*,  
 under whose Command it was, led it towards  
*Estampes* that sided with his Highness. In the mean  
 while the Court seem'd to have a Design of  
 Blocking-up *Paris* again, for it had Troups in se-  
 veral Places around it, which oblig'd the Prince of  
*Condé* to send a Detachment on the side of *St.*  
*Cloud*, which the Kings Forces had a Design to  
 seize on. This Detachment being weak, and *St.*  
*Cloud* no place of Defence, it rested satisfy'd with  
 making it self Master of the Bridge, an Arch of  
 which it blew-up; by this means did they hinder  
 the In-roads that were made to the very Gates  
 of *Paris*, and which had occasion'd some Clamour  
 in the Inhabitants of that great City. But the King  
 meaning to Mortify them and punish so many Diso-  
 bediences, sent to recover the Bridge, and upon  
 the notice the Prince of *Condé* had of it, he left  
*Paris* to go encourage his men, being attended by  
 several Persons of Quality, nay and by several  
 Citizens that had taken Arms. His Presence having  
 stopp'd th'Enemies Design, he march'd against *St.*  
*Denis*, where the King held a Garrison, and after  
 having taken it he retired to *Paris*, where there  
 was more Caballing than Ever. The King was ad-  
 vis'd to draw near it, to retain there some Servants  
 that were still Loyal to his Majesty, and he did so  
 upon their Desire, after they had remonstrated to  
 him,

him; that otherwise all was lost. And indeed his Remoteness had made it presum'd that he abandon'd that Beauteous Town; but his Presence having giv'n another Opinion, those who had as it were forsaken his Party, made reflection upon the fault they had Committed, and their thoughts were wholly how to repair it. The Viscount *de Turenne* still Cover'd the Kings Person in a March that lasted above forty Leagues, and after having Notice of his being arriv'd at *Melun*, he lead his Army towards *Chastres*, that so the Prince of *Condé*, then at *Estampes*, might have no longer any Communication with *Paris*. All these motions that cou'd not be made without the Desolation of the Countrey, rais'd a Murmuring in the People, that began to grow weary of the War, so as that several Deputations were made to the King to beseech him he wou'd distance the Cardinal from his Person, after which he shou'd find as much Obedience as ever in *Paris*, and in all the Rest of the Kingdom: But the most trusty servants his Majesty had in that great Town told him without mentioning to him the removing this Minister out of the way, that there needed no more than his returning thither to make all things hush again; that the greater part of the Parliament and of the Citizens were very much undeceiv'd of the Prince of *Condé*, after having seen him neglect their Interests to think barely of his own; that this Disposition was to be improv'd, and not to wait till he had regain'd their Confidence by new Artifices: In a word, that they stood Warrantees for the Event, and that their Lives shou'd be answerable for it. These Reasons joyn'd to the Desire the King had to make the *Parisians* still sensible of the Inconveniencies of the War, that so they might have still the more Passion for Peace, made his Majesty resolve upon Causing *Estampes* to be attack'd, the  
taking

taking of which wou'd have cut off the Communicati-  
 on with *Orleans*, from whence they receiv'd a world  
 of Wines, and other things necessary to Life. Yet  
 wou'd he first know of the Viscount *de Turenne* if he  
 approv'd of this Resolution: But this General ha-  
 ving represented to the King a world of Inconveni-  
 encies that might thence ensue, the King left all  
 things to his Ordering, & continu'd still in his Quar-  
 ters near *Chastres* and *Montlery*. In the mean while  
 the Viscount *de Turenne* having Intimation that *Ma-*  
*demoiselle d' Orleans*, the Duke of *Orleans's* Eldest  
 Daughter, had in her passage, thorough *Estampes*, de-  
 sired to see the Prince of *Conde's* Leaguer in Arms, he  
 broak up with his own, and Surpriz'd one of the Sub-  
 urbs in the time the Enemies were Sprucing them-  
 selves up for that Review. The Disorder therein was  
 so great, that most of the Troupers abandon'd their  
 Horses, and without *Lauville*, the *Mestre de Camp* of  
 the Regiment of *Conti*, and who commanded the  
 Guard, and did effectually his Duty, the Disorder  
 had been much greater. This Success having Surpass'd  
 the Viscount *de Turenne's* hopes made him Change his  
 mind, and thinking to improve the Consternation  
 the Enemies Army had plung'd them in, he besieg'd  
*Estampes*, that far from being a place of War has but  
 one bare wall with a sorry Castle on the side of *Dour-*  
*den*, without Outworks, without a Ditch, nay and  
 open on sundry sides. But the Army within the Town  
 supply'd all these Defects, and an enterprize was it  
 sufficiently great to attack it there, how ever sorry  
 the Place. Nevertheless the Viscount *de Turenne* ha-  
 ving taken his Precautions, rais'd his Assaults and  
 Batteries, and as he press'd the Town, he had Notice  
 that the Duke of *Lorraine* advanc'd to cause him to  
 raise the Siege. The Court having no Ressource left, if  
 it chanc'd to loose it's Army, was extremely Surpriz'd  
 at



at this Tydings, and not standing to consider what Course to take, it dispatch'd away an Agent to this Duke to see whether his humour wou'd lead him to treat for some Money. In the Int'rim the Viscount *de Turenne* had orders sent him to raise the Siege as soon as that Duke shou'd draw near ; but his answer imported the thing not to be yet so Urging, and that when it were so, he wou'd take such Care, that nothing ill shou'd come on't. The Duke of *Lorraine* having no greater Passion than to heap up Money, was byast to the offers of the Court : but as the point was the more or less, he stay'd in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, under Colour of coming to Confer with the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Condé* ; there arose a Contest between him and the Prince of *Condé* for the rank, and he caus'd it to last some days, that so the Court might have time to be-think it self whether it shou'd give him what he demanded. At last the Court, not very opulent at that time, having found the means to furnish the sum he requir'd, it was agreed in Concert with the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother-in-Law, that the Siege of *Estampes* shou'd be rais'd, on Condition that as soon as the King's Army was drawn-off, the Prince of *Condé*'s Forces should Evacuate the Town. The Duke of *Lorraine* having thus provided for his Honour, talk'd of returning, according to the obligation he lay under by a secret Treaty he had made with the Court : But the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Condé* exclaiming against him, he promis'd to stay, and instead of directing his March back for *Flanders*, as he had engag'd to do, he March'd away towards *Corbeil*, where he laid all the Open Country in Fire and Blood ; This oblig'd the Viscount *de Turenne* to March against him, and some Hostilities having pass'd between  
the

the Two Armies, the Duke of *Lorrain* took a Pretext from thence, to say, that the Court fail'd in its Parole to him, and both Parties were oblig'd to come to New Explications. But the Viscount *de Turenne* having learnt by Experience, that mild Remedies had no effect upon him, prepar'd to give him Battel. The Duke of *Lorrain* being stript of his Dominions, and his Reputation and Credit subsisting only by his Troups, he did not think fit to hazard them, but Caus'd a Bridge to be laid over the *Sein* so to have that River between the Two Camps: But seeing himself press'd in such manner, that he cou'd no longer avoid fighting, he desir'd My Lord *Digby* that his Lordship wou'd interpose in a New Treaty, then on foot. The Viscount *de Turenne* wou'd by no means hear it mention'd, and with the Sword pretended forthwith to decide the matter: But the Court, standing then also in need of his Forces, wou'd husband every thing with the utmost Waryness, and Chose rather to grant the Duke of *Lorrain* some farther favour, with which, as I may say, it drove him out of the Kingdom.

Tho' all these Successes were not great on either side, the Court however thence derived great advantage; for the People growing impatient to see an End put to their Mileries, did more earnestly wish for Peace than before, and complain'd of the Violences the Duke of *Lorrain* had Exercis'd, in lieu of the Advantages they had Expected by his coming. The Prince of *Condé's* Troups, being drawn near the Bancks of the River *Seine*, made a Shift to render these Complaints altogether Legitimate, by the Desolation they spread thro' all the Countrey, whose Grain and Forrage they not only consum'd, but Pillag'd the very Houses. The Prince  
of

of *Condé*, had dayly Complaints made him of 'em; but whatever Care he us'd he cou'd not Suppress the Licentiousness of the Souldiery, who imagin'd that a Civil War Entitl'd 'em to all Exorbitancies, and whom besides he durst not command absolutely to refrain, having not the means to pay them. All these things stimulating thus the *Parisians* to return to their Allegiances; the Prince of *Condé* was oblig'd to place himself at the Head of his Forces, that so they might not only live in better Order, but also to preserve them from Danger; For the Viscount *de Turenne* seeing himself freed from the *Lorrainers*, pretended to force them to a Battle, notwithstanding they thought themselves secur'd from that by the Bridge of *St. Cloud*, which afforded them free passage to either side the River. The Court seeing no better means to terminate the Civil War, than to Defeat the Remains of that Army, which dayly diminish'd for want of Pay, sent for the Marechal *de la Ferté*, with the Troops he had in *Lorrain*, and this Marechal having caus'd a Bridge of Boats to be made over the *Seine* near *St. Denis*, pretended to nab the Prince of *Condé* on the one side, while the Viscount *de Turenne* shou'd attacque him on th' other. This Prince to avoid his Defeat, otherwise inevitable, discamp't forthwith, and having abandon'd the Bridge of *St. Cloud*, he had a Design to demand Passage at *Paris*, to shelter his Forces with the Rivers of *Marne* and *Seine*, but not knowing whether that the *Parisians* wou'd grant it him, and fearing besides that his Army wou'd totally disband in the City, he directed his Way upon the Left to gain the Upper-end of the *Fauxbourg St. Martin*, from whence he pretended to make towards the Bridge of *Charenton*, beyond which is an Island capable of containing an Army: But the  
Viscount

Viscount *de Turenne* plying him Close at his Heels; not having giv'n him the leifure, His Rier was oblig'd to face about to stand the Brunt of some Squadrons which the Viscount *de Turenne* had detach'd, with intent to begin the Battle: Much a do had it to disengage it self, and to gain the Point of *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*, where the Van was drawn up in Baralia; the Prince thinking that by reason of *Paris*, and some Intrenchments, made to hinder the Inroads of the Duke of *Lorrains* Army, the Viscount *de Turenne* wou'd be Cautious how he attack'd him. Wherefore he chose this Post, as the only one that cou'd hinder this Defeat, for the Viscount *de Turenne* was much stronger than he, and besides, Expected the Mareschal *de la Ferté*, who upon notice of the Prince of *Condé* March, was to come suddainly with his Troups. All these things making him presume, as I have newly hinted, that he wou'd find it a Difficult matter for him to come off from this Push, he meant however to have sav'd his Baggage in *Paris*: But those that held there the Kings Party, caus'd him to be deny'd the Gates, and he was oblig'd to place 'em upon the Ditch that's between the Town and the *Fauxbourg*. In the mean while, the King, who in so tender an Age allready manifested his Warlike Humour, mounted upon the top of *du Mesnil* to have the Pleasure of seeing his Troups fight; they forthwith Fil'd and Marshall'd into Order, and the Viscount *de Turenne* unwilling to leave the Prince of *Condé* any further time to contrive his Matters, Caus'd him to be attack'd by a Batallion, which the Prince repuls'd, he having plac'd himself at the head of a Squadron made up of Men of Quality. The Viscount *de Turenne* perceiving it wou'd be a hard Matter for him to force that Place where the Prince of *Condé* was himself  
with

with the flow'r of his Troups, weakned that attack to re-inforce those that were made on another side; the Prince of *Condé* having not minded it, cou'd not hinder his Men from being forc'd, and tho' the Marquis *de St. Maigrin*, one of the Cardinals Favourites, and who had boasted he wou'd seek out the Prince of *Condé*, was kill'd, with several other Persons of Condition, the Rest continu'd nevertheless to march in Batalia, as far as the Abby of *St. Antoine*. The Prince of *Condé* who had done Wonders wherever he had been present, hearing this bad News, march'd immediately that Way-words, and with the same Squadron, at the Head of which he had allready fought several times, he also beat these Troups: But his forces vanish'd, and grew Evidently thinner, and as the Marechal *de la Ferté* began to come in sight allready, they abandon'd after some Dispute, a Post they kept at the End of *Charenton street*. The Viscount *de Turenne* caus'd several Houses to be pierc'd thereby to maintain his Ground, and the Prince of *Condé* having no hopes of driving him thence with his Horse, caus'd the Infantry to come up, which shamefully ran away. It is not to be Express'd how angry the Prince of *Condé* was at this sight, nor the Disorders some Squadrons were in that were Expos'd to the firing from the Houses before-mention'd; However the Prince of *Condé* having a Courage too great to be dejected by any Disgrace, meaning to try if he cou'd not Speed better than the Rest, march'd himself with all the men of Quality in his Army: But as he Advanc'd, one of his Squadrons that were upon its Retreat, taking him for an Enemy, Charg'd him, and he did the like, while that those of the Barricade that had other thoughts fir'd upon both. In the mean while, all *Paris* was throng'd upon

upon the Rampart to see what wou'd be the Issue of this Battel, and every one was possess'd with various sentiments according to the various Passions with which he was animated. *Mademoiselle d'Orleans*, tho' such a Spectacle ought not to be over-agreeable to a Person of her Sex, was come her self to the *Bastille*, from whence she view'd all that pass'd ; but at length considering that notwithstanding all the Prince of *Conde's* admirable Performances, he was upon the point of being oppress'd by numbers, she caus'd the Canon to be pointed upon the Kings Army, and sent to tell the Person that was upon the Guard at the Gate St. *Antoine*, that unless he forc'd with open'd it, she wou'd have him hang'd within an hour. The Person at the Gate having receiv'd so precise a Command durst not Countervene it, though he wou'd very willingly have render'd the King Service, for he knew this Princesses humour that wou'd absolutely be obey'd, and who under a female Attire shew'd the face of a man, and a Heart capable of the Greatest matters, she once had harbour'd hopes of marrying the King ; But both the Queen and Cardinal having oppos'd it, she expected to match with the Duke of *Anguien*, notwithstanding the Disproportion of Age, and the Prince of *Conde* fed her with these hopes, either that effectually he had such a design through the temptation of her great Riches, or that he did it only for the Service she might do him with the Duke of *Orleans* her father. The King seeing that *Paris* had declar'd it self against him, sent to the Viscount de *Turenne* to retreat ; and the King embracing him, as well as the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal, they promis'd him all three, they wou'd never forget his Services. The King cou'd not however refrain giving Praises to the Prince of *Conde*, whose Valour and Conduct had appear'd with such a lustre, that his very

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Enemies

Enemies proclaim'd, that only he was capable to disengage himself from so dangerous a point. The Cardinal distrusting the Affection of most of the Grantees, interrupted this Conversation as much as he cou'd; but the King peculiarly delighting in discouraging upon such sorts of matters, wou'd needs know of the Viscount *de Turenne* all the Particulars of the Action, and the Cardinal was forc'd to give him a hearing as well as others: The Prince of *Condé's* Army having thus sav'd it self in *Paris*, the Citizens being excited by his Great Actions seem'd never to have born him so much Affection; they crowd'd their Windows to see his Entry, and nor more nor less than if he had been victorious they cover'd him with Prayses: but this Kindness extended ev'n to the very Soldiers; they carry'd 'em drink to the very Gates, and those that had occasion for Linnen for their Wounds, found twice as much as they needed. The Prince of *Condé* was a person of too much shrewdness to suffer their Affection to cool, he had new Treaties concluded for the Extermination of the Cardinal, and that this Design might be General, the People were oblig'd to give outward marks of it, by carrying straw in their hats. Thus nought else was seen in all *Paris* than straw hatbands, nay and Trophys were made of the same material for Coaches and for Horses: Those that had not timely notice of the Necessity of Wearing them had like to have been kill'd by the Populace, and they ran after them as after mad Dogs, crying a *Maxarin*. During these Occurrences an Assembly was held at the *Hostel de Ville*, but much disorder happen'd there, which some attributed to the Prince of *Condé*, who to destroy some Persons whom he suspected of not being well-affected to him, did not care though Others were expos'd to the like Danger; some Musket-shots were made into the Windows,

Windows, and some meaning to look out of the windows to see what was the matter, they were oblig'd to retire. The thing proceeded much farther, the Gates were forc'd, and some Members of the Parliament were kill'd. This Violence, which many attributed, as I allready hinted, to the Prince of *Condé*, made him lose the Peoples Affection, and his Enemies gave out, to take away all Doubts, that it was him; that among those Seditious Persons there had been seen Soldiers of his Army, and that they had been seen going into his House a Day or Two afore. This Misfortune did not befall him singly, it was follow'd with his losing the Duke of *Nemours*, who quarrelling with the Duke of *Beaufort* upon such another matter that had set 'em at Odds before, he was kill'd in Duell by a Pistol-shot. It was doubtless great Pity, for he was as brave as a Man cou'd be, Gentile, Civil, Liberall, and having in short all the Good Qualities that can be desired in a Person of his Condition.

Neither of the Two Armies did any thing in the mean while; that of the King was withdrawn into the Neighbourhood of *St. Denis*, and that of the Prince of *Condé* into the plain of *Tury*, the River of *Seine* between both; *Paris* suffer'd equally from Each Party; the one made Excursions to the very Gates of *St. Denis* and *St. Martin*; the other laid all Desolate, as far as the Suburbs of *St. Victor* and *St. Merceau*, the Prince of *Condé* not having a Penny to pay it. The *Parisians*, who had allready dwindl'd in their Affection to him, by what happen'd in the *Hôtel de Ville*, lost all the Rest thro' the sacking of their Houses. However their Odium to the Cardinal still prevail'd over all other Considerations, and while the Prince of *Condé* endeavour'd to make his Accommodation, by the means of the Duke of



*Bouillon*, Deputies were sent to the King to beseech him to distance that Minister: The King detain'd the Deputies without vouchsafing them an Answer, and having left them at *St. Denis*, while he went to *Pontoise*, the Prince of *Condé* went to fetch them away at the head of Two Thousand men, and brought 'em as in Triumph back to *Paris*. During these Occurrences, the Viscount *de Turenne* had a great Affliction, occasion'd by his Brother the Duke of *Bouillon's* Death, which happen'd after a sickness of but few Days Continuance: He was Lamented by Both Parties, by whom he was Equally Esteem'd for his Merit and Probity; He was a Faithfull, Loyal Friend, a Man of Wit and of the Cabinet, but whose Humour had seem'd Chang'd within this Seaven or Eight Years; for as much as he had formerly lov'd Intriguing and Cabals, as much did he now love Rest and Tranquillity. This must be attributed to his Consideration of his Numerous Family, and to the Affection he bore his Wife, by whom he left Ten Children, five Boys and five Girls. For his Principality of *Sedan*, he had as a Recompence the Dutchy of *Eureux*, with several other Large and Noble Lordships. He dy'd in the Kings Esteem and Affection; but in the Aversion of the *Hughenots*, whose Religion he had forsaken at his Wifes Persuasion.

In the mean while, the King endeavour'd to gain o're the Topping Men of the Parliament, and of the Citizens, and to sow some Division in that Body, he Transferr'd it to *Pointoise*; but few of 'em repair'd thither, which making the King presume that it wou'd be a Difficult thing to reduce the City to it's Duty, without distancing the Cardinal, he comply'd with the time, yet with a resolution however of recalling him  
when

when occasion serv'd. Then thinking he had remov'd all sort of Difficulty he demanded of the People and Parliaments th'effect of their Promises; But they quickly manifested that this Removal which they had demanded with so much Passion, had been only a Pretext to cover other Interests. Their Disobedience put the King into great fits of Anger, he resolv'd to employ Force, since he had not prosper'd in Mildness, and having Reinforc'd his Army as far forth as his present Circumstances wou'd allow of, he Block'd-up *Paris* so close that the *Parisians* were pinch'd with great Necessity: The continual Taxes they were over and above to pay for the maintenance of the Prince of *Condé's* Army undermin'd 'em utterly, so as being no longer capable of furnishing what was requisite to raise Forces to oppose the King's, they for the second time call'd-in the Duke of *Lorraine* to their Succours. He came with an Army of Twelve Thousand men, and Encamping near the Viscount de *Turenne*, the Prince of *Condé's* Troups did the like, while that the Duke of *Wittebourg* on another side endeavour'd to shut him up between those two Armies and his. Never did the Court lye under so much Disquiet as at that time, it wou'd needs also bargain with the Duke of *Lorraine* for him to get him gone his ways; but the Viscount de *Turenne* pretending dayly to discamp, at length took his time to pass the River d'*Hiers*, and having broke his Bridges, he was far off, before th'Enemies were in a condition to pursue him. The Prince of *Condé* being sick at *Paris*, fancy'd that this could not have been done without Correspondence with the Duke of *Lorraine*; but he durst not express his thoughts of it, as fearing he might have occasion for him in the condition he was reduc'd

duc'd to. And indeed the *Parisians* wou'd no longer furnish Money for the maintenance of his Troups, and being enrag'd at the Violences committed by the Duke of *Lorrains* Army and that of the Duke of *Wirtemberg* in the Country, they resolv'd at length to recall the King. The Prince of *Conde* did not at all prevail in his opposing this Resolution, Deputies were sent as far as *Compeigne* to beseech his Majesty to return, and all the Prince of *Conde's* Credit cou'd prevail no further than to deferr the business for some days. In short seeing all his Intrigues abortive, he chose to withdraw out of *France* to the *Spaniards*, an Action that tarnish'd many of those he had done afore. Thus the King return'd to *Paris*, and recall'd the Cardinal, who was already come upon the Frontier, for his Remove had been only, properly speaking, a pure Grimace. The Kings was follow'd with several Novelties, the Duke of *Orleans* withdrew to *Blois*, a Town of his Appanage, with his Wife and Children, several of the Parliament were Exil'd, and the Coadjutour Confin'd; nevertheless having brib'd one of his Guards, he made his escape from *Vincennes*, and went to find out the Prince of *Conde*, his most Mortal Enemy: But this Prince thought him sufficiently Punish'd in his Misfortune, without adding to't, by making him sensible of his Resentment, wherefore he receiv'd him with Humanity; and having shewn himself more Generous in Pardoning him, than he wou'd have done by treating him after another manner, he won so much upon him, that the Coadjutour gave himself absolutely to him. All these Mutineers having been thus punish'd, the world expected that the Partizans of the Court were going to be Rewarded, the most part of whom had

had great need of Recompence, having been at vast Expences, in a time when the necessity of the State oblig'd 'em to take all upon themselves : But the Cardinal, whose Credit was much greater than ever, bent his thoughts much less upon contenting his Old Friends than in acquiring New ones. Thus the Viscount *de Turenne* who had reason to expect something for his Services, receiv'd only fair words, while others receiv'd Effects.

The Rebellion was still on foot in divers Provinces, and especially in that of *Guyenne* ; but the Prince of *Conde* having not been able to retain *Paris* where he had a world of Creatures, and where his great Valour was equally admir'd by all Parties, it is not to be wonder'd if the Prince of *Conti*, who had no other repute than that he deriv'd from his Brother, cou'd not hinder *Bordeaux* from being lost. However *L'Aine* who was in th'Interests of the Prince of *Conde*, did all in his Pow'r to dispell the Practices that arose against him ; But Father *Favre*, a Cordelier, to whom the Cardinal had promis'd a Bishoprick for a Reward of his Cares, got that Ascendant over the minds of both Male and Female Bigots, that those of his Order confes'd it to be impossible for him to remedy this Misfortune. Yet this was not effected without shewing a Fleet in the River of *Garonne* ; for *Marfin* who had the Command of the Arms in *Guyenne* under the Authority of the Prince of *Conti*, threatened to put all to Fire and Sword, if he saw the least Appearance of a Conspiracy. He had moreover sent for Succours to *Cromwel*, who under the name of Protector had usurp'd the Crown of *England*, after the most Execrable of Parricides committed on the Person of the Late King. This made it necessary, the Court not being sure

of the Answer he wou'd give to let a fleet appear ready to oppose his Enterprizes. But two things hinder'd *Cromwel* from declaring himself ; One, he had a War to Sustain against the *Hollanders* ; the Other, he was willing to make as few Enemies as possible for him in the Beginnings of his fortune. However he allow'd the *Spaniards* to make Leavies of *Irish*, of whom he was very glad to rid himself, as being his most formidable Enemies ; By this means the *Spaniards*, whom *Marsin* had also call'd to his Succours, still for a while foster'd the Rebellion in *Bordeaux* : But the Duke of *Vendôme* commanding the Fleet of *France*, having Seiz'd on the Burrough and Castle of *Lormont*, and having Batter'd Two Forts upon the *Garonne*, shut up *Bordeaux* so Closely, that they found themselves reduc'd to Great Extremities. Thus the Rich beginning to grow as sensible of the famine as the Poor, the Number of the Conspirators augmented daily, and if *Marsin* had not repair'd in all hast to the Town, they were going to deliver it up into the Kings Hands. Nevertheless, falling suddenly at Odds with the Prince of *Conti*, and they conceiving a jealousy of one another, quickly occasion'd this Prince to Listen to some Proposals made him on the Courts Behalf, or rather he made use of this Pretence to abandon a Party, not only already Staggering, but already fall'n : For tho' the Prince of *Condé* had taken *Rhetel*, *Château Porcien*, *St. Menchou*, and some other Places in his retiring ; All this was not capable of being brought into Comparifon with the Great Losses he had Suffer'd. Thus the City of *Bordeaux* return'd under the Kings Obedience, and this happy Success having been Usher'd-in by the Reduction of other Places of the Province, *France* that had been near five whole Years

Years in Civil Wars, Re-United it self to oppose Strangers that had advantaged themselves much from these Disorders. The *Spaniards* during this time of Misfortune and Division, had not only Extended their Frontiers on the side of *Flanders*, but had also reduc'd *Catalonia* and *Cazal*, besides *Piombino* and *Portolongone* which they had retaken. This made it necessary to retrieve our Reputation, then lost among the Neighbouring Princes. *Italy* especially fancy'd allready that the *Spaniards* who had so often endeavour'd to settle their Sway there, were going to Subdue it; so as that the Duke of *Savoy*, who had more Occasion than Others to apprehend them, either by reason that he had Embrac'd our Party, or that his Countrey was more for their Biefseance, only thought of appeasing them by some Treaty. The King, whom it notably concern'd to detain him in his Alliance, immediately dispatch'd to him *le Plessis Befancon*, a Man both for War, and the Cabinet, who remonstrated to his Highness, that *France* being no longer divided in it self, as it had been in the Years last past, His Neighbours were going to find the Effects of its Protection, that after having Subdu'd the Rebels that were buoy'd up by all the Forces of *Spain*, it wou'd be no hard matter for him to vanquish those same Forces, that were no longer Seconded with the Rebellion of the Towns, and the Revolt of the Principall Subjects; that All being return'd to their Duty by the King, and his Ministers Wise Conduct, the World was going to see great Changes; that we had still a Door left us into *Italy*, by which to Enter Succours proportionable to the Occasion of Our Allies, and that in short he wou'd suddainly have tokens of this, as to his own Particular, He for whose Interests the King ever shew'd himself as Affectionate

as for his own. The Duke of *Savoy* wou'd not have been Contented with all these fine Words if they had not been follow'd with the March of five Thousand Men, that having joyn'd Three Thousand that we had remaining in that Countrey, made a small Body of an Army that re-incourag'd him a little. From thence *le Plessis Besancon* pass'd on to the Duke of *Mantoua*, to whom the *Spaniards* had Surrender'd *Cazal* in Appearance, but of which they were in effect Masters, by the Garrison which they payd with their own proper Moneys. He made him some Proposals: But either that this Duke did not think us in a Condition to perform what we promis'd him, or that the Alliance of Blood he had with the Emperour, did not Suffer him to close with Interests that were opposite to those of his Imperial Majesty, He answer'd this Envoy, that his Resolution was not to disturb the Repose of *Italy*, which wou'd ever Subsist so long as *Cazal* shou'd remain as it then did in his hands. *Le Plessis Besancon* having sped so ill on that side, proceeded on to the *Venetians*, whom he endeavour'd to Egg-on to some Motion; but those Wise Politicians, whose Grandeur only Subsists by Peace, were farr from being influenc'd into these sentiments, and as they were jealous when they saw us Masters of *Cazal*, they were in no wise inclin'd to assist us in the recovering it; Nevertheless they gave this Answer to the Proposals made them by *le Plessis Besancon*, that if the *Spaniards* offer'd at any Innovation, they wou'd proceed to take Other measures. But as it was their Interest that made them speak in this manner, the King was not at all content with this Answer. In the mean while the Marquis de *Caracene* who had had Conferr'd on him the Government of the Dutchy of *Milan*,

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was preparing to enter into *Piemont*, where he had already made some Conquests the years afore; which being necessary to be remedy'd, Our Troups march'd towards the *Alexandrin*, that by this Diversion they might induce them to forsake their Enterprizes. And in truth the *Spaniards* thinking it more for their Advantage to keep their own than acquire anothers, brusht back the same Way, and the two Armies encountring, fought for three hours by Detachment, the Groupd not being proper to bring all the Men up to the Charge yet this did not hinder the Battle from being Sharp, and both Parties boasted their having gain'd th' Advantage: But the *French* seem'd to have more Reason than the Others, for the Marquis de *Caracene* was wounded in that Occasion, besides the *Spaniards* abandoned the Field of Battle. Be it as it will, after the two Armies had thus try'd their Forces, they made Truces and open repeated them, which consum'd the Rest of the Campagne, so as that nothing Considerable occur'd in that Country. As for *Catalonia*, the Mareschal d'*Hocquincourt* was sent thither, rather however to give a jealousy to th' Enemies, than to recover what had been lost: Nevertheless the Mareschal d'*Hocquincourt* besieg'd *Gironne*, and had taken it, if certain flies that are very rife in that Countrey had not destroy'd the better part of his Cavalry. The Enemies that had not as yet dar'd to appear in the field, having nothing more to fear after this Accident, drew near *Gironne*, and the Marshal d' *Hocquincourt* having no more Horse to oppose them was forc'd to raise the Siege. The Enemies pursu'd him, and thought easily to have defeated him: but having intrench'd himself in a Placa where he had more need of Foot than of Horse, he let 'em see that they were very remote from their hopes,



hopes having kill'd or wounded them above nine hundred men. This little ndvantage Comforted the Court for the vexation it had had for raisi g the Siege of *Gironne*. However all these things were of small Consequence to it, in Comparison of what occur'd upon the Frontiers of *Picardy* and *Champagne*. The Prince of *Conde* after having been oblig'd, as I hinted before, to forsake the heart of the Kingdom, employ'd his thoughts wholly in establishing his Power in those two Provinces, he had already in *Champagne*, *Rhetel*, *St. Menchou*, and *Mouzon*, and by the means of those Places he made Inroads within fifteen or twenty Leagues of *Paris*. The Kings whole Design was to recover them, for as long as the Prince of *Conde* shou'd have footing in the Kingdom, it was to be fear'd this might foment the Rebellion therein. The Clubbs too and Meetings were continu'd in the very Metropolis, what ever Prohibitions were issu'd out to the Contrary; and the Parliament as well as the Grandees seem'd to lye at watch for an Occasion to set All a-gain in a Combustion. The King in the need he had of Money, had caus'd thirteen Edicts to be verifi'd, which were laid upon the Commonalty, & the Cardinal had been so cunning as to cause 'em to be pass'd before his Return, that they might be imputed to some others, and not to him: But being known to give the turn to all things as well at a Distance as near at hand, this piece of Craft render'd him but so much the more Odious. The Duke of *Orleans*, as I have said, was withdrawn to *Blois*, and the Duke d' *Anville* being his Confident, but who, out of hopes of a Greater fortune had promis'd friendship to the Cardinal, perform'd several journies, to endeavour to prevail with him to return to Court. The Duke of *Orleans* who suffer'd himself to be easily govern'd already comply'd; but his Wife who had still more Power  
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over him than the Duke *Danville*, interrupted his Negotiations, out of the Aversion she bore the Queen-Mother & the Cardinal; Besides she lov'd Solitariness, which making her Desire to spend her days remote from the tumult of the Court, and from so many Intrigues with which she had been overwhelm'd since her marriage she at last prevail'd with her Husband to renounce all sorts of Caballs; which was what the Cardinal most desired. Thus this Ministers good luck having made him meet with easynesses, which he cou'd not with any likelyhood have entertain'd the hopes of; for if the Duke of *Orleans* had been so minded, he might have deriv'd considerable Advantages for him and his, if he had only feign'd to do in Consideration of the Cardinal, what he did out of Complaisance for his Wife. Fortune having thus declar'd her self for the Cardinal in a matter of such great moment, his thoughts were wholly employ'd how to fix his Pow'r by Alliances with the most considerable Persons in the Kingdom; and as the Prince of *Conti*, who had been allways design'd for the Church, had a Spirit far remote from that Profession, he caus'd one of his Nieces to come from *Italy*, being the Daughter of a *Roman* Gentleman, and offer'd her to this Prince with Considerable Advantages. The Prince of *Conti* was loath to close with this Match; but after having seen the Young Lady, who had Merit and Beauty, this Alliance did no longer Bug-bear him so very much; to which he was still the more egg'd-on by People about him the Cardinal had gain'd; They were perpetually representing to him that the Duke of *Merceaur* had not made so much scruple, tho' his did not turn so well to Account; that the Prince of *Conde* his Brother being with the Enemies, all his Riches, all his Offices, and all his

his Governments were for him if he knew but how to make use of his Good Fortune; that there was no likelihood of his ever making Peace after the Measures he had taken with the *Spaniards*; that he was not to stand Snilly-Shallying 'till some other was enrich'd with his Spoiles, that, the sooner the better, and that perchance by overmuch pausing and Deliberation, he wou'd lose an Occasion never to be retriev'd. These Discourses being familiar to the Prince of *Consi*, he had no reluctance to resolve upon a thing, he was already egg'd-on to by his natural Levity. In the mean while the Cardinal, who had not yet lost hopes of coming to an Accomodation with the Prince of *Conde*, deferr'd this Alliance untill he had seen his last Resolves, and was very glad to give him Intimation of it, that so out of the fear of losing all his Estate, which was considerable, he might not push things to Extremity: But this Prince after having gone so far as he had done, did not one minute stand pondering what Resolution to take, and being besides instigated by the *Spaniards*, who promis'd him no less than giving him some Places in Sovereignty, He us'd his utmost Endeavours to Enter *France*, where he had still good Acquaintance. This broke the Cardinals Measures, who had spar'd nothing to put the Army of *Champagne* in a state to reduce the Places which this Prince possess'd in that Province. The Viscount de *Turenne* Commanded it, to whom the Cardinal had at length granted the Government of *Limosin*: He had besieg'd *Rhetel*, which very much incommoded the People of *Rheims*, they having sent to Court several times to beseech the King to deliver them from that Servitude: The Prince of *Conde* making use of that time to Execute what he had resolv'd, pass'd the *Somme*, and being enter'd

*France,*

France, caus'd all to Tremble to the very Gates of *Paris*. *Roy* offer'd at some Opposition, but its Chastizement for so doing, follow'd so Close, that the Other Towns became Wise at its Cost, so as that they receiv'd in Garrisons, and furnish'd him with all he stood in need of; However he wou'd not divide his Forces, wherefore resting satisfy'd with the Assurances they gave him of their Fidelity, he still march'd further on, hoping perhaps to cause some Sedition in *Paris*: But seeing that no body stirr'd in his Behalf, he repass'd the *Somme* after having gain'd much Booty. The Viscount de *Turenne* having had time to assure the taking of *Rhetel*, march'd towards *Picardy* to oblige him to a Retreat: But seeing he had prevented him, His thoughts were only how to secure the Places upon the *Somme*, which the Prince of *Condé* seem'd to threaten All Equally; He put Succours into *Peronne*, *St. Quentin* and *Guise*, and staying in the Neighbourhood of *Hain*, he kept in a Readiness to march where occasion requir'd. The Prince of *Condé* seeing he broke all the Measures he cou'd take on that side, made a feint of designing to attaque *Arras*, so to draw him into Even Ground: But the Viscount de *Turenne* having not forces to resist him, troubl'd his Head not much about this Enterprize, knowing the Place to be well provided with all Necessaries, and keeping in his Camp, he deferr'd resolving what Course to take, till he shou'd be more particularly inform'd of his Designs. The Prince of *Condé* seeing him remote, took that time to be-leaguer *Rocroy*, and repairing thither with all his Army he Won it, while the Viscount de *Turenne* made himself Master of *Mouzon*; not but that he wou'd rather have reliev'd *Rocroy*, bnt the Cardinal wou'd by no means venture a Battel, fearing  
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that if the Success prov'd adverse to him, this might renew the Faction, by the Advantages the Prince of *Condé* wou'd derive from his Victory. Wherefore he Chose rather to reprisal that Loss by the taking of *Sainte Menchou*, whither he sent the *Mareschal du Plessis*, while the Viscount de *Turenne* observ'd the Prince of *Condé*.

During these Occurrences, another Party was framing in *Alsace*, where the Count de *Harcourt* seem'd to Erect a Sovereignty. He had been Employ'd in the Beginning of the War of *Guienne*; but being become Suspected to the Cardinal, he was gone aside Malecontent, upon a Suspicion he had of a Design to secure him: He had afterwards found the means by forging false Orders, to get himself receiv'd in *Alsace*, where he had so gain'd the Hearts of the Principal Officers, that he made himself to be Master of the Principal Towns; He gave out however that he held them for the King, but insensibly attributed to himself a Pow'r, that in Process of time wou'd not have brook'd Dependency. The juncture of things, oblig'd the Cardinal to dissemble these Enterprizes; but laying them not the less to heart, he dispatch'd away to the Respective Places, Shrewd Persons, and in whom he put great Confidence, and these Agents won so well upon the Garrison of *Baisac*, that the Governour left there by the Count de *Harcourt*, going out of the Town upon a Match of Hunting, the Gates were shut against him, when he wou'd have come in again. They Secur'd *Philipsbourg* almost in the same manner, and this Province having thus been reduc'd to Obedience, the next Design was to besiege *Betfort*, which the Count de *la Suse* pretended himself Lord of, He being a Person that Espous'd th' Interests of the Prince of *Condé*: As it is a Pass  
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Bordering upon *Lorrain*, this Commission was giv'n to the *Mareschal de la Ferté*, the Governour of that Dukedom, and who in the beginning of the Campaign had joyn'd his Troups to those of the Viscount *de Turenne*. But their two Humours did not Cotten; the *Mareschal de la Ferté* was of an Extraordinary Violent Temper, and so self-conceited of his mean parts, that he wou'd feign have had the World thought him to have been th'on'y Man of Universal Knowledge, In the Campaign afore a thousand little piques had Occur'd between them. But the Viscount *de Turenne* had so order'd matters by his Wisdom, that all came to be appeas'd without making a Noise. However the *Mareschal de la Ferté* dayly found a thousand Occasions for his jealousy of him; for as much as his fiery Humour made him hated by the Officers, so much did that of the Viscount *de Turenne*, that was opposite to it, gain him the Love of all sorts of People: And in the Truth, the *Mareschal de la Ferté* knew so well the hatred they bore him, that he never Engag'd in any Battle, without first going to ask Pardon of those he had Offended, for he fear'd them more than he did th'Enemies; he did nevertheless these sorts of things by way of Derision, I mean in regard of those who saw him do it, for in regard of others he did it heartily. I remember how that one day when the Battle was just ready to begin, some body having ask'd him whither he was going because he remov'd from his Post, he made answer, that he was going to seek th'Amnesty, a word extremely in use at time, on th'account of the Motions before related, and for which People were often compell'd to have recourse to it. All th'Officers smil'd at these kinds of Whims, and knowing the Reason the Viscount *de Turenne* had

not to bear him any good will, they sometimes delighted to discourse of 'em in his presence : But this Prince not taking any Pleasure in hearing any body spoke Ill of, minded them at the same time of the Respect they ow'd a Person of the Rank of the *Mareschal de la Ferté*, and thus took his part that goar'd him on all occasions ; for when ever the Viscount happen'd to be the Subject of the Discourse, the *Mareschal de la Ferté* never fail'd of Darkening the lustre of his Actions or of his Virtue, of objecting that he had born Arms against the King, & from thence pretended that All that he cou'd do wou'd never be capable of repairing what he had done. The Viscount *de Turenne* to whom these Discourses were told again, far from being in Anger, answer'd gravely that he was very much oblig'd to him for putting him in mind of his fault, that it was however needless, because he had it ever present to his Imagination ; not that he pretended to make the Juncture of Times his Excuse, on which many People would have rejected All that Occurr'd ; that nothing cou'd Excuse a Subject for his Disobedience, and that it was also only in the Mercy of God that he hop'd for his Pardon. So Worthy, so Handsome and Moderate an Answer shou'd, one wou'd have thought, have made the *Mareschal de la Ferté* abstain thence-forward from such like Discourses : But this was far from rendring him Discreet, if I may say so, of a *Mareschal of France*, his Violences were but the greater, and proceeded ev'n to extremity ; For one day finding one of the Viscount *de Turenne's* Guards out of the Camp, he askt him who had sent him thither, and whether he knew not that it was forbidden to pass the Guards, and without giving him a hearing Can'd him to some purpose. The Guard made his

his Complaints to the Viscount *de Turenne* : But this Prince calling immediately for the Captain of his Guards, bid him go from him to the Marechal *de la Ferié*, and tell him, that since the Guard must needs have very much offended him to make him do what he had, he sent him him to compleat his Punishment ; and that he wou'd also Discard him if he thought fitting, and that he needed only to give him the hint to be obey'd. At the same time the Marechal *de la Ferié*, who after having made Reflexion on what he had done, knew not how to Clear himself in the world, was still the more surpriz'd at this Complement ; he endeavour'd to Excuse himself the best he could ; but having dismiss'd the Captain of the Guards, he told such as were then present, that the Viscount *de Turenne's* manner of receiving this Offence, gave him much more Confusion than if he had shewn Resentment ; and the dint of Truth compelling him to divest himself of Self-Love to do his Adversary Justice, he cou'd not forbear saying, that the Viscount *de Turenne* was as Discreet as he was Passionate.

However, tho' all this came to the Cardinals Knowledge, it was not capable of procuring them a Command apart ; For it was one of this Minister's Maxims to foster in the Grantees a Continual Jealousy of one another ; being withall unwilling to give so much Credit to the Viscount *de Turenne*, as that he might abuse it ; We shall nevertheless see in the Process of this History, that this Maxim was none of the best, and there-thence ensu'd Inconveniencies as were sufficiently considerable as to induce him to change it. The Prince of *Condé* would in the Interim have made Advantage of so Propitious a Juncture, if the *Spaniards* had not harbour'd a Diffidence of his Conduct, for



they saw him still irresolv'd whether or not he shou'd come to an Accommodation with the Cardinal, who to render him the more suspected, still amus'd him with new Treaties; this Prince had besides quitted several little acquaintances in the Kingdom that held him by the Heart; and tho' it seem'd that so great a man as he, ought to be but little sensible to such sorts of things, yet they sufficiently possess'd him as to make him regret what he had forsaken: More especially he had a Jealousy of the Prince of *Conti*, who meant to build his Fortune on his Ruines, and he cou'd not think of his being upon the point of going to fatten himself with his Spoils, without desiring to traverse him in his Pretensions. In the mean while on another side he knew not what Confidence to put in the Cardinal, who had so often broke his word with him, and who wou'd perchance wreak his Revenge on him by still a harsher Imprisonment than the former. In so uncertain a condition he was extremely to be pitt'y'd, when after having made Reflexion upon his last Actions that gave him little hopes for Pardon, he resolv'd to think no more of *France*, and to abandon his Fortune entirely in the hands of the *Spaniards*. And in truth he had notice that his Brother's Marriage had been concluded on at *Fontainebleau*, and that his Place of *Grand Maître* of the King's Household was already conferr'd on Prince *Thomas*, which did not over well please the Prince of *Conti*, for it had been promis'd him before his Marriage: But the Cardinal who thought he had him fast enough by that Match, no longer minding to husband him, chose rather to gain a New Creature than keep his word with him. In the Interim, this Minister who had his own Interest in a peculiar Recommendation, had caus'd a  
great

great part of the Benefices he possess'd to be resign'd up to him, and it being seen how that he enrich'd himself with all he cou'd clutch, while that he Empoverish'd others, he was dayly the more and more hated, tho' People were less in a condition to give him tokens of it, for he had been carefull to gain such of the Grandees that cou'd still foment Stirrs and Insurrections; and those that had done him most Mischiefs, were those that had been the best Rewarded. Thus they had seen the Count d'Ognon, the Marquess de Saint Germain Beaupré's Younger Brother, made Marechal of France, with a Present of a Hundred and Fifty Thousand Livres for having abandon'd the Prince of Condé's Interests.

In the mean while, the Court of Spain practis'd a different Policy towards the Duke of Lorrain, then become suspected to it; more Especially since he had suffer'd the Viscount de Turenne to Escape, as was before related; for when he fancy'd himself in the best terms with them, and thought he had regain'd their Confidence by new Treaties, he was Seiz'd on at *Bruxelles*, and convey'd thence into *Spain*, from whence he did not stir out of Prison, 'till the Peace had been made between the Two Crowns. The Prince of Condé having dayly disputes with him for the Rank, was not otherwise Sorry for his Misfortune; but having learnt by his own Experience, that the *Spaniards* were not of a humour to pardon, he was more than ever Confirm'd in his Design of renouncing all the Intrigues he had kept a-going on that side. Wherefore being willing to give them certain Marks of his Intentions, he Egg'd them on to besiege *Arras*, which was no sooner known of at Court, but that the King went on purpose to the Parliament, to have him declar'd Guilty of High-Treason, and one

that had forfeited the Quality of first Prince of the Blood, with all the Prerogatives due to his Birth; and in short to dye such a Death as his Majesty thought fitting : Those who follow'd his Party were in like manner Condemn'd to be Beheaded, and among Others *Marcin, Persan Senior*, and President *Violle*, for in regard of th' Others, they were only cited in judgment to give them time to know themselves ; but not a man of them All would abandon him on this score, save the Prince of *Taranto*, for tho' they hereby lost their Estates, yet they lost not their Lives, the Court not daring to push things to that Extremity, for fear the Prince of *Condé* might use Reprisals. And, indeed, since his being in *France*, those of his Party had caus'd an Officer of the Kings Army to be Hang'd, upon the Notice they had that the Cardinal had serv'd one of theirs in the same manner, and the Prince of *Condé* far from Checking them for their Proceedings, had utter'd his mind so roundly upon this Article, that the Court cou'd not doubt of his Intentions. The Viscount *de Turenne* upon the Suspicion he had that the Enemies had an Eye upon *Arras* march'd that Waywards in all haste, and after having put a re-inforcment into that Place, he pass'd the *Meuse*, and march'd against *Stenay*, which had been too long the *Azylum* of Rebels, to leave it any longer in their hands. The Concern the Prince of *Condé* had in it, the Propriety of the Place appertaining to his Highness, as I suppose I have already intimated, making the Viscount *de Turenne* nevertheless believe that this Prince wou'd not suffer it to be taken without a push, he thought not fitting to stay within the Lines, but took an Advantageous Post to fight him. And this was indeed the Prince of *Condé's* main Design, who pretended at any rate

rate to save this Place; but the *Spaniards*, who wou'd have got nothing thereby, choos'ing much rather to Besiege *Arras*, which if they cou'd take, was to be their Portion, invested it the same day the Trenches were Open'd, before the other Place. The Viscount *de Turenne* thereby perceiv'd he had no Apprehensions to lye under as to the Succours of *Stenay*; for which reason after having giv'n the necessary Orders to the Marquess *de Faber*, whom he left before the Town, he repass'd the *Meuse*, with a Design to Starve the Enemies, 'till such time as he had forces sufficient brought him to fight them. The Marechal *de la Ferté* joyn'd his Troups to the Viscounts; and both drawing near the Lines of the *Spaniards*, they Seiz'd on certain Posts, from whence it was Easy to Cut them off their Victualls and Forrages. The Neighbourhood of the Two Armies dayly produc'd some Skirmishes, wherein fortune did not yet seem to decide any thing, for they were one while to th' advantage of one side, and another to the adverse Party; but at last the Chevalier *de Crequi*, now Marechal of *France*, having found the means to get Succours into the Town, caus'd it to declare for his Party. And indeed this Success as much flush'd the Courage of the Besieg'd, as it dejected that of the Besiegers: The later besides standing dayly more and more in need of Provisions and Forrages, so as that they were ready to raise the Siege, if the Duke of *Luxembourg*, then call'd *Bouteville*, had not conducted a Convoy to the Camp, across a thousand Ambuscades that were laid for him. This Succours having thus made them persevere in their Design, they pusht on briskly their Attacks, insomuch that *Mondejeu* that Commanded in the Place, sent to the Viscount *de Turenne* to come and relieve it. This

Prince having hitherto deferr'd doing it, thinking to Effect it without Fighting; but having seen the Contrary by what had happen'd, he made all things ready for the Succours, wherein he was Seconded by the Mareschals *de la Ferté*, and *d'Hocquincourt*, the last of whom had brought him the Troups that had taken *Stenay*, and others which he had drawn out of the Towns above the *Somme*. The Enemies seeing themselves upon the point of being attack'd, dayly fortify'd their Camp, wherein they had made great holes not only to stop the Cavalry, but also to serve for Precipices to the Infantry, for they were Extreme deep: But the Viscount *de Turenne* being inform'd of all this, as well as the Other General, they resolv'd no longer to defer th' Attacque, which they gave notice of to *Mondejeu*, that so he might take that time to make, Sallys. In the mean while, to give a jealousy to all the Quarters, they were all view'd in their Turns, which the Prince of *Condé* not being able to endure without shewing himself, he went out of his Lines, and Fortune having Seconded his Courage, he beat all that stood in his Way, after which he Forrag'd at large, which without this he durst never have undertaken. As this Success was capable of damping our men, if not suddenly repair'd, the Viscount *de Turenne* attack'd divers Posts, which the Enemies held upon the Avenues, and making himself Master of them, he caus'd Part of the Army to march about five a Clock in the Evening on the side of Mount *St. Eloy*, while the Mareschals *de la Ferté*, and *Hocquincourt*, led the Rest towards *de Mouchy le Proux* thro' several Ways. The Enemies having Parties out were quickly inform'd of this March, and having fir'd a Canon which was the signal they had agreed among themselves to give notice of Our Approach,

Approach, they stood to their Armes. The Viscount *de Turenne* seeing their Design discover'd, as well as the other Generals, nevertheless continu'd their March, and false attacques were made on the side of *Mouchy*, to cover the true one that was made on the side of *St. Eloy*. In the mean while, Several Matches were shown fasten'd at the end of great Sticks, which made the Enemies run that way-wards they were seen : But the Viscount *de Turenne* having us'd this Diversion for the making of his Attacque, all buckl'd before him, the Lines of Circumvallation were forc'd, and after having been fill'd by the Infantry, the Horse pass'd, and fell in pursuit of the Enemies, most of whom betook themselves to flight without fighting. None but the Prince of *Condé* made any resistance, but it rather tended to save his Men, than repair the Affairs of his Party. As for the *Spaniards* they abandon'd their Canon, their Tents, and their Equipages, of which the Soldiers made so considerable a Booty, that many of them enrich'd themselves for all their Life long. Above Sixty Canons were found in their Camp, with Five or Six Thousand Tents, All still standing, many Sumpter-Horses half loaden, but which they had not had time to take along with them ; In short, all the tokens of a great Disorder, and a strange Surprize. The Prince of *Condé* made his Escape to *Doway* ; but he was still in the Lines, when the Van was already arriv'd ; for that he might not abandon his Troups, he several times Expos'd his Person, ev'n to mingling in among the Enemies like a Common Soldier. The Viscount *de Turenne* knowing him in the hurry, often admir'd his Valour, but at the same time deplor'd his Destiny ; which thus kept him link'd to the Interests of those against whom he

wop'd

Wou'd have more gloriously Employ'd it. The Enemies Defeat was no sooner known at Court, but that all the Honour of it was giv'n to the Viscount *de Turenne*; For tho' he had two Marefchals of *France* that were his Equals in the Command, yet it being known to have him that forc'd the Lines, and that the Others on the Contrary wou'd not have sped by having lost their Ways, they thought themselves bound not to Confound him with them. And in truth, the Cardinal, who was, as I may say, the Soul of the Kingdom, thought he lay under an Obligation to congratulate him alone, and made him such great Promises, as render'd it easy to guess how deeply he thought himself concern'd in that Success. In Effect, this Minister had dayly new Disquiets, and there had been lately stopp'd upon the Frontiere, a Certain Person, *Beaulieu* by name, who had Commerce with the *Spaniards*, and pretended to kindle anew the Sedition in divers Provinces. Thus an unprosperous Event was capable of replunging the Realm in the Troubles it had but just got ridd of: Wherefore he thought himself bound to testify his Acknowledgment to him that had Secur'd his own repose, and that of the State. In the mean while, the Viscount *de Turenne* relying on his Promises, having of him demanded the Effects of them some days after, found, as many others had done before him, that they were not to be overmuch trusted; for having askt of him the Charge of Colonel General of the Horse, fall'n Vacant by the Duke of *Joyeuse's* Death, he shammd him with so many Put-off's, that the Viscount *de Turenne* saw plainly he made a Mock of him: He wou'd not speak of it to the King and Queen-Mother, who had several times assur'd him, nothing cou'd be deny'd his Services. The King

King himself came into his Camp during the Siege of *Stenay*, and there renew'd to him all he had promis'd him in other Occasions: But tho' his last Action spoke allso in his behalf, he did not think it convenient to Expose himself to the Master's Denial, and that it was sufficient to have undergone that of the Minister. This notwithstanding, he shew'd not any Resentment, and continuing to serve with as much Zeal as ever he manifested, he went and Beleaguerr'd *Quefnoy*, a Place in *Hainaut*, and of more importance for its Scituation than its Outworks, that were imperfect; yet as it might be improv'd to an advantageous Post, he was resolv'd to fortify it, as soon as he had got it into his hands; and the Prince of *Condé* having had time to gather up the Wrecks of the *Spanish Army*, advanc'd to interrupt the Works; But the Viscount *de Turenne*, after having seiz'd on certain Posts reduc'd his hopes to Weak Skirmishes, wherein not having had all the Success he Expected, he shut up the Place in severall sides, as if he had a Design to Block it. The Viscount *de Turenne* seeing the Party he had Embrac'd, let the Cardinal know it, who had long afore design'd the Besieging of *Clermont*, that he might now with ease effect this Enterprize, and the thing having been resolv'd on in Council, the Mareschal *de la Ferté* had Orders to sit down before that Town, while the Viscount *de Turenne* shou'd observe the Prince of *Condé*. Thus *la Ferté* having not been disturb'd in his Enterprize, finish'd it without much trouble. After this the Viscount *de Turenne* seeing that in the present State of Affairs, and in the Season no longer proper to keep the Field, it wou'd be losing his time not to send the Army into it's Winter-Quarters, resolv'd to depart himself for Court, after having giv'n Orders for that purpose.



purpose. However he staid on the way at *Mouchy*, a House of the Marquis *de Humieres*, very agreeable for Hunting, but whither other Pleasures invited him; for before he went to the Army he had found this Marquis's Lady so Charming, as gave him an Urging to see her again. The Marquis *de Humieres* being come to his House, receiv'd him there as one of his most particular Friends, and the good Reception he met with both from him and his Wife, oblig'd him to return often thither. These Visits which he paid still more frequently at *Paris*, made him at length so very much in Love, that he no longer seem'd to be the same man. The Marquis *de Humieres* after the wonted rate of Husbands, did not take notice of these sorts of things, and attributing to the freedom which reigns among Persons of Condition, this Assiduity, which would, perhaps, have giv'n suspicion to another, he continued to live with him as he was wont. In short, this Fancy lasted Eight or Ten Years, and was not unprofitable to the Marquis *de Humieres's* Fortune, who having a great deal of innate Merit and much acquir'd, has attain'd to the Dignity of Marechal of *France*, thro' what the Viscount *de Turenne* said dayly in his behalf. And indeed the Chevalier *de Grammont* knowing whence this proceeded, and loving a little Drollery, cou'd not refrain breaking a Jest to the King, upon his Majesties asking him at the time of his Promotion to that Dignity, if he knew whom he had made Marechal of *France*, he answer'd him, *Madam de Humieres*; which so offended this Prince, who did not love Railleurs, that he Banish'd the Chevalier at that very Instant.

The King's Arms had not been altogether so flourishing in other Countrys as they had been in  
*Flanders,*

*Flanders*, no not by much. The Court had sent the Mareschal de *Grancey* into *Italy*, and tho' the Kingdom of *Naples*, that began to rise again, might have very much facilitated him in his Enterprizes, he was under a continuall uncertainty of what he ought to do. Thus did he suffer much time to slip, after which he pass'd into that part of the Land of *Milan*, call'd the *Alexandrin*: but the Rivers being swell'd by continual Rains, his whole Campagne terminated in Consuming the Forrages, and some slight Skirmishes. In th' Interim as the Fleet bound for the Coast of *Naples* under the Conduct of the Duke of *Guise*, was forc'd to return into our Ports, after that our men who had made a Descent had been repuls'd with great loss; the Mareschal de *Grancey* was also constrain'd to repass the *Tanare*, for fear of seeing all the Forces that had been employ'd in that Kingdom come pouring upon him. The Duke of *Guise* and He did not want reasons to excuse the failings they had made, and they charg'd all to the fault that had been committed in having been too sparing of all things that had been sent them, as if what pass'd in that Country had not been of any Moment; and indeed a man wou'd have said the Cardinal had discarded all Sollicitude for those Parts, nay and he would have little minded th' Affairs of *Catalonia*, if he had not been willing to content the Prince of *Conti*, whom he had sent thither on purpose, that he might not yet disrelish his Alliance. This Prince had no great Experience, but to supply that want he had good Lieutenant-Generals in th' Army, who unwilling to suffer it to lye idle, caus'd it to march against *Villa Franca*, a small Town at th' Entrance into *Conflans*, Scituated between two Mountains, and seems to have been

been Built rather for the retreat of Bears, than for th'abode of men. Yet as it obstructed th'Entrance into *Cerdagne*, a small Province so-so Pleasant, and that the taking of it must besides bereave th'Enemies of that of *Roussillon*, it was attack'd and won almost at the same time. *Puicerda*, the Capital City of *Cerdagne* surrendred afterwards, after having sustain'd a Siege of Eight Days. But the Prince of *Comi* growing quickly Weary of War, was very willing to find a Pretext to go hold the States in *Languedoc*, that he might gratify his Natural fickleness. His Wife repair'd to him thither, tho' already dissatisfy'd with him, for he had made her a Present, which Modesty does not suffer specifying, and which after having reduc'd her to strange Extremities at the long run, occasion'd the loss of her Life: Thus was the Year 1654 spent. But I ought not to forget what befell the Viscount de *Turenne*, whose Wisdom was so generally known, that the Count de *Montbelliard*, who had disputed together for their Principality, referr'd themselves to him, and the Duke of *Wusemberg*, for the Determination of their Differences. And indeed after having Examined into the Rights of Each, he pass'd his Judgment, which so pleas'd those two Brothers that they resolv'd to Submit to it. It was not only with those two Princes that he pass'd for Prudent, and for a Lover of Justice; His Virtue was known much farther in *Germany*, and he dayly received Letters, by which he was desir'd to give his Opinion upon certain Matters that fell under Debate: He did it immediately, but without pretending to derive thence a Vanity; far from suffering that his Advice shou'd be taken for a Sentence, These are my thoughts, Writ he back to those that had sent him these Letters, you will needs have

have me give you my Sentiment, it is for you to judge whether I am now mistaken or not, for that I often am. God grant I am not so at this time, that so you may receive from my Councils the Consolation you Expect from them. He was as modest in all things as he was in that, for whether that he was desir'd to give a particular Account of an Action he had been present at, or to say rather, whose *Primum Mobile* he had been, or that he was oblig'd by Reasons that wou'd be needless to specify, to entertain the Company with Discourse, he never spoke of himself, but in confounding himself with others. We did such and such things, said he, such a Regiment did this, or that such an one did by such a motion occasion the Defeat of the enemies: But he was never heard to say, that it was I, that gave this Command, who took the Enemies in the flank, and a thousand other such like things, which all Generals are wont to attribute to themselves, and which he might attribute to himself as well as others. But he did not do so when he was to blame himself, he was the first to tell his own failings, and he often found out such as no body else had taken notice of; which happen'd more Especially when he was to excuse any one: Not a man, said he, is there exempt from Committing faults, this is what commonly renders us wise, and if there were no vicious People, Virtue wou'd not be in such Great Admiration. But his Goodness never appear'd more than when any one had done something in War for which he might be blamed; to prevent the Reproaches that might be made him, he told every one a thousand things in his favour: 'tis none of his fault, added he, if he has been unprosperous, and if all People that have been beaten were to be slighted, 'tis long agoe that I shou'd have been of no Account. D'ye not remember what befell me at *Mariendal*, and what

what happens to me still dayly; believe me, the Worthiest Persons are subject to such like Adventures, & for this do I not esteem a man the less. However to furnish him with the opportunities to repair his Reputation, he sent him back to Warfare till he had gain'd some Advantage, and then there needed no other Trumpet than the Viscount to proclaim it, Did not I tell you, said he, that he was a Brave man, and that he wou'd not be long without having his Revenge; I am seldom mistaken in the Judgment I pass of a Person, and I ever thought he did not want either Courage or Conduct. This Carriage got him to that degree the Affection of th'Officers and Souldiers, that they all began to call him their Father; and in effect they bore him as much kindness and respect as if he had been really so. He did the like on his part, that is to say, he lov'd them as his own Children; And indeed he never had any greater joy than when he had th'opportunity of procuring any one's Advancement. We are only in the World, said he, to do good to one another; and those to whom God has giv'n some Credit, ought t'employ it only in procuring th'Establishment of those who stand in need of their Protection. But he did not content himself with saying it, he did it also as he said it, for then he did not mind passing for troublesome with the Minister, and he who durst not speak in behalf of his own Interests, never let him rest when it requir'd his promoting of others. Tho' the King was still pretty Young, yet as he was of a sharp understanding, he had so much respect for the Virtue of this Great Captain, that it seem'd as if only he in his Kingdom was worthy of his esteem; His Majesty discours'd him sometimes for whole hours together, which made the Cardinal seem a little uneasy:

uneasy : But she Viscount *de Turenne* who delighted in cultivating the Sentiments of this Young Prince, that was entirely inclin'd to Virtue, not taking notice that he minded it, troubl'd his head little with having his Friendship, provided he had that of his Master. For this Reason did he spend so many Winter-Quarters at a distance from the Court ; for the Cardinal under Colour of the least things, sent him Order not to leave the Frontier, which still discriminated him from th' other Generalls, who expos'd themselves for the most part only to share the deeper in the favour of that Minister. In the mean while the Year 1655, began, and as the Enemies had Block'd-up *Quesnoy* to all Intents, and that the Garrison began to be distress'd, the Viscount *de Turenne* resolv'd to lay open the Passes. For this purpose he divided his Troups into several little Bodies, as if he had had several Designs, and causing them to March some one way, others another, the Marquis *de Castellan*, a Lieutenant General surpriz'd Five Hundred men that were in the *Bas Castelet*, and having put them to the Sword, he set fire to the four Corners and to the Heart of the Town. This exploit having made the Enemies afraid that the Viscount *de Turenne* had some Design on the places on that side, they made use of the Troups that were employ'd in the Blockade of *Quesnoy* : But they were hardly got to the Rendezvouze, when this Generall caus'd a Convoy to pass he had ready, and re-ictuall'd the Town. Holding it then in safety, he Rendezvouz'd all his Forces, and March'd against *Landracies* : As he had once already taken this Town, he knew both it's Strength and Weakness, which much facilitated to him his Enterprize, joynd to this that the Kings Presence, who was come thro his Camp so anima-

ted the Souldiers, that they contemn'd all sorts of Danger. The Besieg'd being in hopes of a speedy Succours wou'd never hear talk of Surrendring, tho' the King Summon'd 'em sundry times : but the *Spaniards* having not been able to raise Forces sufficient for raising the Siege, they saw themselves at length oblig'd to capitulate. The King after his wonted rate shew'd an extreme Confidence in the Viscount *de Turenne*, and wou'd by all means have him upon every occasion give him a Reason for what he did. This pleas'd this General more than it did Cardinal *Mazarin*, who wou'd very willingly have brought up his Majesty like a Private Person, and not like a King, that was call'd to the Government of the Noblest Kingdom in all Christendom ; He took him off most commonly from those Conversations, under pretext of some other Affairs ; but the King did not leave them without regret, and tho' the Queen his Mother had foster'd him up in a great Complaisance for this Minister, he cou'd not so well curb his Inclinations, but that he manifested the Violence he did him. Thus did *Mazarin* endeavour to make a weak King, that he might still secure to himself th' Administration of his Dominions. But th' Advantages of Nature were so great in this Prince, that he had no need of Education, and we see in his Majesty one of the Greatest Kings that ever wore the Crown, and yet, perhaps, the Worst Educated. This was a Subject of Admiration for the Viscount *de Turenne* : However without minding what this Minister cou'd say to the matter, he instructed the King in what he had a mind to know, and gave him Lessons of War, wherein he wonderfully delighted. *Mazarin* durst not tell him openly his thoughts of this Carriage ; but sometimes

times without making semblance of any thing; he told him, that the King was yet too Young, to have confided in him things of Consequence, and that in the Post he was it became him to keep all Secret. Thus did he conceal under the pretext of Mystery, Motions full of Ambition, and perchance of Jealousy; For in short this great familiarity of the King's with the Viscount *de Turenne* displeas'd him extremely, and he fear'd least the Viscount shou'd get that Ascendant over his Majestys mind, as that he shou'd not be able to drive him thence. For this Reason had he for some Years last past Associated the Mareschal *de la Ferté* with him in the Command of the Forces. But the Difference of their Humours had produc'd an effect quite contrary to what he had expected: The King being a Lover of Mildness and Lenity cou'd not wont himself to the Violences of that Mareschal, who was ever seen in Anger ev'n at his up-rising. In the mean while the Cardinal to lessen the Glory that might redound to the Viscount *de Turenne* for so many happy Successes, laid a part of them to th' Other, and the Generality to please this Minister, endeavour'd to conferr on him Praises, often without mentioning the Viscount *de Turenne*. This Prince smil'd in himself, and still continu'd his old Road, being well persuaded that many were there that did him Justice: But in short the Enemies quickly decided the Question, and made appear with whom they most fear to have to do. After the taking of *Landrecies*, th' Army divided into Two. This Viscount *de Turenne* took one part of it, and the Mareschal *de la Ferté* th' other; the later March'd against *St. Guilain*, the former against *Condé*. The two Garrisons were very different. As th' Enemies were particularly under Apprehensions for



the later of those two Towns, they had put two Thousand men into the place and above three Hundred Reformed Officers. Th'other was nothing near so well provided. However the Marechal *de la Ferté* having lost time to no purpose in trifles, th'Enemies March'd against him, and oblig'd him to Retreat. He return'd and joyn'd again the Viscount *de Turenne's* Army, who had been more cautious, and directed his Measures better, so as that th'Enemies drawing near, durst not undertake to force his Lines. Having thus had time to continue his Attacques, he won the Out-works, and forc'd the Garrison to Surrender: The Spaniards having lost this Town, made divers motions to hinder him from attacking *St. Guilain*; but having provided for all the places they might threaten, he laid Siege to't, and carry'd it under their Nose. They endeavour'd to Revenge themselves on *Quesnoy*, round which they held divers Posts; but the Viscount *de Turenne* went and Encamp'd upon the Avenues, and their Army durst never attempt to open the Passage. So prosperous a Campagne still augmented his Repute, and if the Cardinal had not still had a Secret jealousy of him; the King wou'd have heap'd on him so many Bounties, as wou'd have put him into a Condition to Envy no Bodies Fortune. But this Minister told the King in Private, that it was not conveuient to raise him so high, and that after having twice sided with Rebels, he was more than rewarded for the Services he had since perform'd. The King was not wont to resist the Cardinals Wills; thus things stopp'd there, tho' there was a great deal of difference between his Actions, and those of th'other Captains that Commanded the Armies: In effect, People observ'd sundry faults they committed during

ring this Campagne; and yet all the Rewards were for them. The Prince of *Conti*, who was in *Catalonia*, after having taken *Cepdaquiers* that incommoded the City of *Roses*, instead of quickly passing the Mountains, trifi'd away his time in Debauchery with the Duke of *Mercaur*, his Brother-in-Law, who was arriv'd upon the Coast with the *French Fleet*, so as that he gave the Enemies time to Assemble, on whom he might have made considerable Conquests. For the Cardinal to take away a thousand Distasts that People endeavour'd to give him of his Alliance, had done all he had been able to put him in a Capacity of acquiring Honour: But all this was bounded in taking *Castillon* and *Solsanne*, two sorry Places, but whose Conquest was Highly Boasted among those who knew not what they were, for the offering Incense to the Cardinal. This gave him Occasion to shed his Bounties upon this Prince, who was in no good Condition to enjoy them; for in the Middle of the Campagne he was forc'd to leave the Army, to go seek for Remedy to a Malady that was become too inveterate to be cured. The Count *de Merinville* had the Command of the Army after his Departure, and made the *Spaniards* raise the Siege of *Solsanne*, which they thought to have recover'd: But the same Misfortune befell him before *Bergues*, which they had taken, and he wou'd have retaken from them; Insomuch that neither side had any great reason to Vaunt of its Great Successes. Much the same thing was it in *Italy*, where if we had the Advantage of Causing the Siege of *Reggio* to be rais'd, which the Governour of the *Milanex* had laid out of spight to the Duke of *Modena*, our Ally, We had afterwards the vexation of discamping from before *Pavia*, whither we march'd under the Orders

of that Duke, and under those of Prince *Thomas*: As divers faults had been noted in the Conduct of all those Generals, it was a Subject of enhancing the Viscount *de Turenne's* Glory, who knew so well how to digest his Enterprizes, that without some great Misfortune, he was sure of bringing them about. However tho' his friends made use of all these things for matter in his Praise, it was not needfull to go seek it so far of, and there needed only to make reflexion upon what he dayly did, to judge that few there were like him: For without mentioning Military Actions, he gave every moment Occasion to admire his Virtue; this was principally manifested in point of Interest, which may be said to be the touch-stone of Men, since the truth is, few there are but shew Weakness upon this Chapter. As his Charge gave him the Pow'r of Establishing Safe-Guards, this was a sure means of making himself Rich, and the Mareschal *de la Ferre* set him th' Example, deriving thence dayly three or four hundred Crowns; for he sent Troupers thither, to whom he gave a Crown of the five or six he Exacted of each Place, and the Number produc'd him a vast Revenue. The Viscount *de Turenne* did not want People that advis'd him to do the like, Especially those that had the management of his Expences, who remonstrated to him, that this was a Succours ready at hand for a thousand things that were wanting in his family. But the Prince was ever so far from being prevail'd with to be tampering in so Villanous a Commerce, that he chid those very much that made him the Proposal, and left those sorts of Profits, one while to his Captain of the Guards, and another to Officers that needed it. Not a man cou'd refrain admiring a Generosity, that had no Example among the Generals;

nerals; but he said when he was spoke to upon the point, that he did not believe they did all that was imputed to them, and that he wou'd lay a Wager the same thing was said of him, tho' the truth was he was never reckon'd in that Number. Thus did he endeavour to excuse others for the avoiding the Praises; People wou'd have conferr'd on him, and he evaded them in such manner, that often he prevented them by Discourses as would have made it believ'd he had been in Anger, if the reason of his speaking so had not been known. However to hinder any one from being so hardy as to give him the like vexation, he was wont to say, there was nothing favour'd more of the Flatterer, than a man that pretended to commend another in his Presence; That it was with them as with those Women, who after having told one another a Thousand obliging things, are no sooner at a distance from one another, than that they bespatter one another as much as possibly they can. However in the time that this Prince was the most esteem'd, it wanted little, but that an unexpected Death had cropt him in the flower of his Age. As he was extremely weary'd in the foregoing Compagn, he was hardly arriv'd at Paris but that he fell ill, and having been oblig'd to keep his Bed, People were afraid that his sickness might have Dangerous Consequences, for he had a fierce feavour with Redoublings; Insomuch that the Physicians did not tell their Opinions. The King sent twice a day to enquire how he did, as well as most of the Grandees; But the Cardinal in this Occasion laying aside the jealousy he bore him, by reason of the Interest of the Kingdom, paid him not only diverse visits, but brought him also some Medicaments, which he had been told to be wonderfully effectual against

his Dis temper. In a word the Viscount de Turenne Escaping more happily than the World expected, he return'd his visits as soon as he was in a Condition of going abroad, and being dayly more and more confirmed in his health, nothing any longer hindred him from repairing to the frontiere, but the Marriage of *Mademoiselle de Bonillon*, Courted by the Duke of *Elbauf's* Eldest Son. This Prince was of so Illustrious a family, that all the kindred agreed immediately to the Match: For besides this he had a great Estate, & might also pretend to some considerable Settlement at Court: but the Viscount de Turenne, seeing farther than Others, oppos'd it Clandestinely, and Remonstrated to *Madam de Bonillon*, that this Prince having us'd his first Wife Ill, whom he had kick'd when with Child, of which she dy'd, 'twas exposing her Daughter to the like treatment; that he was addicted to Wine and Women, Qualities not only unworthy a Person of his Rank, but also to a little Catamitism; that besides he had a Son by his first Bed, who by Birthright wou'd have all his Father's Estates and Offices; that thus it wou'd be rendering the Children that shou'd come of her Daughter and him so Unhappy, that they wou'd not have wherewithall to uphold the Lustre of their House; that it wou'd be better to think of providing for her in *Germany*, where they had already some Allyances, and where Enow other Matches might be found; that she ought not to consider that she distanc'd her self from her by doing this, that it were much better for her Daughter to be happy far off, than unhappy at her Door; that the true kindness of a mother consisted in procuring her Children's felicity and not her own; and that in brief any farther thoughts of this Match were steering the quite Contrary Course. *Madam de Bonillon* in all things rely'd very much on the

Viscount

Viscount *de Turenne*, but wou'd not refer her self to him at this time, for she imagin'd it wou'd be the same thing to her to have her Daughter Dead, as have her marry'd so remote; However this was not th' only Impediment; She was Extremely Wedded to her Religion, and afraid that if ever her Daughter went into *Germany*, she might with the air of the Country have instill'd into her the Sentiments of her Ancestours, that had been all Protestants. Thus the Viscount *de Turenne* having not been able to dissuade her, was oblig'd to consent as well as Others to this Marriage, which was perform'd in the presence of the King and Queen-Mother, and of all the Court, their Majesties meaning thareby to testify to the Viscount *de Turenne*, the Consideration they had for a Person of so near Relation. This Match was quickly attended with a great fecundity, whereas the Viscount *de Turenne* was not Bless'd with any Children; which was the only Subject of trouble in his Marriage, for he had otherwise a Wife that lov'd him infinitely, and was an Example of Virtue: He resign'd himself however to the Will of God, and thro' this want he look'd on his Brother's Sons as if they had been his own; He had also other Nephews, but as they were his Sisters Sons and did not bear his Name, he made some sort of difference between 'em: Not but that he strove to give 'em testimonys of his kindness in all Occasions, & principally to the Counts *de Duras* & *de Lorge*, who had great need of it. For they follow'd the Prince of *Condé's* Party, wherein they were so Engag'd, that they had all imaginable trouble to get out of it. However the Viscount *de Turenne* lost no time in his endeavours to disentangle them thence, and having at length effected his purposes, he obtain'd the King's leave for their Kissing his Majesties

jessies hand; After that, he sent them to serve in  
*Italy*, for as they were Young, he thought it not  
 fitting that they shou'd be expos'd to the Jealou-  
 sy and Suspitions that might arise, if they staid  
 in the Neighbourhood of a Prince they esteem'd,  
 and with whom they had newly broke as a man  
 may say against their Wills. In the mean while  
 the Campagn drew near, and that having oblig'd him  
 to leave *Paris*, at a time when all his Family  
 was in joy for the Match before-mention'd, he re-  
 pair'd to *Flanders* whither all the Troups directed  
 their March. We had newly made a strict Ally-  
 ance with *Commonwell*, who after the most Enormous  
 Crime that had been ever heard of in the world, had  
 found the Secret to become formidable not only to  
 the *English*, but also the neighbouring Princes. In  
 virtue of this Alliance he was to give us Succours by  
 Sea and Land, and we were Engag'd to share with him  
 the Conquests we might make. These Conventions  
 amaz'd the *Spaniards*; this, notwithstanding, they o-  
 mitted nothing of what might contribute to their  
 Defence, and Don *Juan* of *Austria* being newly ar-  
 riv'd in the Low-Countrys, shew'd himself indefatiga-  
 ble, after the Prince of *Conde's* example, who was  
 on Horse-back Day and Night: they had in the Win-  
 ter miss'd of the City of *St. Guilain*, which render'd  
 us a little haughty, not to say insolent: but fortune  
 prepar'd them matter of Consolation, which we  
 were far from distrusting. I said before that the  
*Marschal de la Ferrié* had great jealosie of the *Viscount*  
*de Turenne*, this had been already adverse to the Kings  
 Service in Sundry Occasions: But the Cardinal out of  
 I know not what Policy being not willing to Sepe-  
 rate them, they had orders to march joyn'tly against  
*Valenciennes*, one of the strongest Towns in all the  
 Low Countrys, but whose out-work were not in an  
 over good

overgood Condition : They work'd on 'em with great Application, yet if we had made right use of the Conjunction, it might have been taken without Difficulty, before they had put it into a Condition. But the *Marschal de la Ferte* labouring under an Indisposition, on purpose staid the forces that were under his Command, for fear the Viscount *de Turenne* might without him accomplish that enterprize. Being somewhat recover'd of his health, he came before the place which the Viscount *de Turenne* had allready invested, and where there arose between 'em new subjects of Division ; for after they had open'd their Trenches, and push'd on their Works very far, the Viscount *de Turenne* having signify'd to him to have a Care of his Quarters, that were Separated from his by a Canal, which was impossible to fill, and on which there were Bridges for the having Communication together, he took this advertisement as an Injury, and refus'd to receive four or five Regiments of Reinforcement which the Viscount offer'd him for his Security. The Viscount *de Turenne* having notice by his Spies, that he was to be attack'd in the Night, did not desist for this forc't Refusal, and having sent him Word that the Kings Service requir'd his making him once more the same Offers, he Expected his Answer ; but that having been no more favourable to him than the former, he stood upon his own Guard and left th' other to do as he pleas'd. The Night being come, the Enemies did not fail of approaching under the Conduct of the Prince of Condé and of *Don Juan*, who had us'd their utmost Contrivances for the Relief of so considerable a Place, and thinking to have a better hand o're the *Marschal de la Ferte* than of the Viscount *de Turenne*, they attack'd his Lines with so much Vigour, that they were forc'd after a Conflict but meanly disputed.

The



The most part endeavour'd to scape o're to the Viscount *de Turenne's* side ; But the Waters, which the Enemies had caus'd to disgorge on purpose, after having ruin'd some Bridges upon the Dyke, and the others were so over-burden'd by the great Numbers of men that fled away, that some of 'em broke. The Viscount *de Turenne* caus'd Men to march immediately that Way-wards to hinder the Enemies from mingling among the Runaways ; but this being a difficult matter to accomplish by reason of the darkness and Disorder, he caus'd the remaining Bridge, to be broke down, and thereby took away all hopes of safety from the Vanquish'd : After this it was nothing but a Slaughter, many were drown'd in the Dyke in endeavouring to avoid perishing by the hand of the Enemies, th' Others were kill'd fighting, and the rest were taken Prisoners, and among others the Marechal *de la Ferté*, who was led to *Rocroy* ; the Waggon, Tents, and Baggages were the Booty of the Conquerours : But meaning to push on their Victory further, they endeavour'd to repair the Bridge, to Pursue the Viscount *de Turenne* in his retreat to *Quesnoy*. In the mean while, having Seiz'd on an advantageous Post, he staid in Battalia for the Fugitives, and there came a much greater Number than cou'd be Expected, considering the Mighty Disorder that had been ; But the Night had often confounded a *French-man* with a *Spaniard*, and the later for fear of destroying a friend had often spar'd an Enemy. This Unhappy Success amaz'd the Court, that glory'd a little too much afore in all the advantages it had gain'd ; However, putting a great Confidence in the Viscount *de Turenne's* Prudence and Conduct, he had sent him a re-inforcement of some Troups, with which he durst not only keep the Field, but likewise per-

form

form Enterprizes. In effect, seeing that the Enemies had Attacqu'd *St. Guilain*, he went and took *La Capelle*, and then march'd to give them Battle. The Enemies judg'd it not convenient to stay his Coming, and having rais'd the Siege he revictuall'd the Town. The Court having been afraid of some new Blow, was strangely Surpriz'd at this Wonderful Performance, and the Cardinal thinking he had too great an Obligation to the Viscount *de Turenne* to remain without giving him Instances of his Acknowledgments; promis'd him many things. But this Prince placing all his Ambition in serving well the King, demanded no other Recompence but that he might never more be coupl'd with the Marechal *de la Ferté*, which was granted him. This Year pass'd thus in *Flanders* with a fortune Intermix'd with Good and bad, while that in *Catalonia* we stood upon the Defensive, and that in *Italy* we beleaguerr'd *Valence*. This Siege was long and doubtful, for th' Enemies having Assembl'd all their forces, and drawing near our Lines, thought to put us under the Constraint of raising it, after having got some succours into the Town; but the Duke of *Modena* commanding our Army, obstinately persevering notwithstanding this Unhappy success, minded his Business more narrowly, and having shut up the Passes better than he had before, he at length reduc'd the Besieg'd to so great an Extremity, that they were oblig'd to capitulate. This was a great Mortification for the *Spaniards*, who began to tremble for the Land of *Milan*, that had been so successfully set upon. In the Interim they endeavour'd to revenge themselves on *Roses*, which we still held in *Catalonia*; but we so well broak all their Measures, that they durst not come nearer than two Leagues from the Town: All these Prosperities made the Cardinal forget the  
vexation

vexation he had had for the *Mareschal de la Ferre's*  
 Defeat. But fortune being willing to put him in  
 mind that he shon'd be Expos'd when she pleas'd to  
 her Caprices, made him feel a New Affliction by  
 the loss of *Madam de Mercœur* his Niece after some  
 few days illness. This Grief, being particularly on-  
 ly to his family, was follow'd by another wherein  
 the Publique shar'd, which was the taking of *Saint*  
*Gustien*, of which the *Spaniards* made themselves  
 Masters, what ever Precautions were us'd on our  
 side. Nay, and Suddainly after this we under-  
 went a New Disgrace, which was the raising the  
 Siege of *Cambray*, whither the Viscount *de Turenne*  
 had march'd with all his forces. This Place, whose  
 Conquest was of such importance to the repose of  
*Picardy*, having only a Weak Garrison, the Viscount  
*de Turenne* fancy'd a more propitious time cou'd not  
 be taken for the reducing it to Obedience; for  
 which reason he made haste to invest it, and to  
 work upon the Lines of Circumvallation; But For-  
 tune, that breaks, when she pleases, the justest mea-  
 sures, popt the Prince of *Condé* in his way, which  
 disappointed his Enterprize. The Prince, without  
 foreseeing this Siege, had appointed his Horse to  
 Rendezvoue near *Keurain*, to see what Condition  
 it was in, before it was commanded to leave its  
 Winter-Quarters: As he was marching to this Ren-  
 dezvouze, attended only by some Servants, Chance  
 made him meet with a Man, whom the Governour  
 of *Cambray* sent to *Bruxelles* to give notice of his  
 being Besieg'd, and the Person having told him the  
 News, which he won'd hardly believe at first, he  
 caus'd his Horse forthwith to march, tho' they had  
 neither Provisions, nor Equipages, they all hoping  
 to return to their Quarters after the Review; and  
 having bated them on the Way, and taken a Guide

to pass the Wood, he came at Night within a  
 Musket-shot of the Viscount *de Turenne*, who had  
 not yet finish'd his Lines of Circumvallation. Thus  
 the way being all Smooth, he pass'd without any  
 Obstacle, and march'd very close, untill that ha-  
 ving been discover'd by some Squadrons that march'd  
 against him with Sword in hand, they fell just upon  
 that his Highness led, where were most of his Ser-  
 vants, and having routed it, several were taken, so  
 as that he wou'd have ran a risque of falling into  
 the Enemies hands, cou'd they have known him.  
 But escaping by favour of the Night, he joyn'd his  
 Other Squadrons that were advanc'd towards the  
 Town. Thus *Cambray* having been reliev'd by a  
 throw of Hazzard, the Viscount *de Turenne's*  
 part was now to retreat; for tho' he had not  
 lost a man, yet as the Weakness of the Garrison  
 was his invitation to the undertaking that siege, it  
 requir'd his altering his Conduct. Things having  
 thus Chang'd their Aspect, this did not hinder the  
 Court from thinking of Other Conquests, and that  
 of *Montmedy* being important, the Mareschal *de la*  
*Ferte* receiv'd orders to march thither, and the  
 Viscount *de Turenne* to oppose it's Relief: th' Ene-  
 mies seing him Encamp'd between *Montmedy* and  
 them, and a difficult task to make their way thro'  
 him, made a fluster as if they aim'd at all Our  
 Places so to get him leave his Posts. But the Vis-  
 count *de Turenne* contenting himself with provi-  
 ding for those that were threatned, did not distance  
 himself in such manner as to be Cut-off. Having  
 thus kept the Enemies in Breath, they march'd to-  
 wards *Charlemont* where they had a Passage upon  
 the *Meuse*, which oblig'd the Viscount *de Turenne*  
 to throw himself into the Lines of *Montmedy* with  
 a Detachment. The Marquis *de Castellan*, Lieute-  
 nant

vant-General, remain'd in the mean while with the  
 rest of our Army to have an Eye to and ward our  
 Places, so as that th' Enemies having no hopes on  
 that side, assembl'd a flying Camp of the Garrisons  
 of *Dunkirk* and other the Towns bordering upon  
 the sea, and after having made a shew one while  
 of falling upon *Ardres*, another upon *Beihune*, all of  
 a Suddain they pour'd upon *Calice*, whose Garri-  
 son had been Weakned to provide for another side.  
 They at the very first carry'd the Lower Town,  
 by having met with small Opposition in the  
 first surprize; but upon their assaulting the Upper  
 Town, they were vigorously repuls'd, after having  
 nevertheless gain'd some petty Advantage as might  
 augment their hopes. The Enemies having thus  
 mis'd their Stroke, resolv'd to Enter *France*, hoping  
 that this would oblige us to raise the Siege of  
*Monimedy*: But the Viscount *de Turenne* drawing  
 near the *Somme*, they were afraid least he might re-  
 pass that River; so as that after having made an  
 Inroad into *le Santerre*, they retreated in all haste.  
 All these Motions gave the Mareschal *de la Ferté*  
 time to continue his Assaults, and having won all  
 the Outworks, those of *Monimedy* Surrender'd, af-  
 ter having obtain'd an Honourable Capitulation.  
 The Viscount *de Turenne* being then no longer ob-  
 lig'd to observe th' Enemies, march'd against *Saint*  
*Venant*, which made them believe they shou'd have  
 time to take *Ardres*. And indeed the Viscount *de*  
*Turenne* found much more Difficulty than he ex-  
 pected in his Enterprize, not however thro' the  
 Resistance of the Besieg'd, but because the Com-  
 missary of th' Army had not Money wherewithall  
 to further the Works: Seeing this, he caus'd his  
 Plate to be cut in pieces to much about the worth  
 of a Crown, and distributed it among the Sould-  
 iers

diers in due Proportion. Having thus remedy'd that Obstacle he march'd against the Enemies, who upon the Tydings of his Coming rais'd the siege of *Ar-dres*; but they having seiz'd on certain Posts by which he was to file off, they attack'd his Rear, and after having put it to some Disorder, they plunder'd several Waggon's, part of which were nevertheless recover'd. This Exploit having not however been capable to comfort them for the losses they dayly under went, they beleaguerr'd *Mardyck* after having receiv'd some Reinforcements; But this Enterprize speeding them no better than the former, they retired without Shewing themselves any more that Campagne. The Viscount *de Turenne* having them no longer upon his hands, fell to fortifying *Saint Venant* and *Bourbourg*, the Enemies having been so imprudent as to abandon this last Place; for by the means of those two Posts he pretended to shut up *Dunkirk* in such manner, as to hinder any thing from entering that fastness. However in the Midst of so many happy Events he was not Exempt from feeling the lashes of fortune. Madam *de Bonillon*, a Princess extremely Virtuous and very necessary to his family, dying, he saw himself Encharg'd with his Nephews, the Eldest of whom was not yet in his Sixteenth year; He endeavour'd to bring 'em up in Virtue, and having shewn them by his own Example, that they shou'd less apply themselves to the heaping up Riches than to the acquiring a good Reputation, they improv'd so well by his Lessons, that they gave him all kind of Content.

Our Successes in *Italy* had not been so propitious as in *Flanders*. The Prince of *Conti* after having tasted repose was grown as weary of that as he had been of Warr, and out of a Genius that it was impossible to fix, he had demanded the Com-

mand of the Army in *Italy*, which had displeas'd the Duke of *Modena*. The *Spaniards* hoped that this Division wou'd the more facilitate to them their recovering of *Valence*, and they had Block'd it up so close, that they expected necessity wou'd make it fall into their hands without their striking a blow. The Marquis de *Vallavoir*, Commanding in this place, never ceas'd representing to these two Princes the want he labour'd under of all things; which made them Prorogue their Differences to give him Succours. Good luck having seconded their Enterprize, they open'd a Pass, and having put in two Convoys, their Misunderstanding renew'd as before. The Town being nevertheless Secur'd by this means, they were asham'd to have it said that with so considerable an Army as that they had, they lay still without any Performances; For which reason they went and beleaguerr'd *Alexandria*, but their Dissention still more and more augmenting, things spun out into such a length, that the Enemies had time to prepare for it's Relief. Whereupon they came with an Army of Twelve Thousand Men, and approaching the Lines, they plac'd Twelve pieces of Canon upon a Hill, which occasion'd great Disorder; After this Marching in Battalia, they so startled our Men, who were already terrify'd by the Slaughter the Canon had made, that they chose rather to raise the Siege, than to expose themselves to what might possibly be the Issue of th' Engagement. Having made such a scandalous Retreat, th' Enemies Block'd-up *Valence* anew, being not strong enough to attacque it by main Force. In truth they had sent a great part of their Troups into *Portugal*, where the War was re-inflam'd after some Cessations that had interrupted the Hostilities: This Diversion did likewise

wise incapacitate them from undertaking any thing considerable in *Catalonia*, where the War was but just kept alive, without any great Advantage on either side, for while one side took a Castle the adverse took another; and thus pass'd the Campaign, none but the People suffering, who had already suffer'd sufficiently by so long a War. The Two Crowns cou'd not be otherwise than weary, as well as their Subjects, for Misery had rais'd Revolts in *Spain* as well as in *France*, which did but too much manifest the need there was of Peace. The Cardinal had already (a Year or two past) caus'd some Proposals to be made to *Don Antonio Pimentel*, at his passing thro' *Paris* in his return from *Sueden*, where he had been th' Ambassadour of *Spain*; but they had been ill receiv'd at *Madrid*, because at the same time was propos'd the King's Marriage with th' *Infanta* of *Spain*, the Presumptive Heirefs of the Crown. Thus the Council of his *Catholique Majesty* had judg'd with some sort of Reason, that all the Offers that were made of causing the King to renounce her Succession, would hold good no further than this Young Prince shou'd please, since by the Laws Establish'd in his Kingdom he was acquitted whenever so minded of what was to his Prejudice. These things putting thus an Impediment to the Peace, the King resolv'd to push on his Conquests in *Flanders*, and to oblige the Viscount de *Turenne* to serve him still with the more Affection, he gave the Charge of Lord High Chamberlain to the Duke of *Bouillon*, for which however the Duke of *Guise*, that had it afore, had some sort of Compensation. After the Viscount de *Turenne* had thank'd the King, and taken his leave of him, he repair'd to the head of his Army that assembl'd upon the frontier of *Bouillon*;



*lonnois*, and being entred into the Country he caus'd *Cassel* to be attack'd, that was guarded by five hundred Men; Ours wou'd not receive them otherwise than at Discretion, after which th' Army approach'd *Dunkirk*, which was invested by four thousand Horse. The *English* on their part, according to the Convention before mention'd, shut up the Passages of the sea with a Good Fleet; and the Viscount *de Turenne* Expecting the Enemies wou'd spare nothing to relieve a Place of This Consequence, made hast to press on his Works and Attacks. But the Garrison being good, retarded both by it's faillies, at length th' Enemies had time to take the field. The Mareschal *d' Hocquincourt* had Expos'd tbeir Party, upon some affront he pretended to have received from the Cardinal, and of which having demanded Reparation without having been able to obtain it, he had run to that Extremity, in hopes of meeting with an Occasion to Wreak his Revenge. As he was a Soldier, he meant to Signalize his Coming by some Action that might make him noted by both Parties. Whereupon he advanc'd to view us, but having been wounded at the same time with a Musket-shot, his hopes ended two hours after with his Life. His Disaster was a fatal Prefage for those of his Party, but as Brave Men are not startled at such like things, the Prince of *Coudé* and *Don Juan* pursu'd their enterprize. The Viscount *de Turenne* to spare them the pains of coming to attack his Lines, march'd out of them at the Head of his Army, leaving however in the Trenches as many men as were necessary to guard them; They drew-up in Battalia, as soon as they were out, and the Enemies having done the like, the Battle began very obstinately on both sides: But th' Enemies having been overwhelm'd by numbers, gave ground

ground by little and little; after this their Ranks growing still more and more thin, the Disorder was still the Greater; Insomuch that they were put totally to flight. None but the Prince of *Condé*, who at the head of some Squadrons he had rally'd, and where all those Brave men plac'd themselves, that follow'd his fortune, that endeavour'd to make any further Resistance: But the most part having been either Kill'd or taken Prisoners, he was very happy in having a good Horse to save himself. The Victory cou'd not be more signal than it was for us, the Enemies fled away 'till Night, without facing about, and far from being in a Condition of returning to *Dunkirk*, they cou'd hardly bring six thousand men together all the Rest of the Campagne. After the Viscount *de Turenne* had giv'n the Orders necessary for the pursuing them, he returned into his Lines, where he was no sooner come, but that he made known the Success of the Battle to the Besieged, that so they might take their Measures accordingly. They pretended not to be in any wise daunted, and, in Effect, made several Sallyes more: But the Viscount *de Turenne* having shut 'em up by little and little, and taken all their Out-works, at length he render'd himself Master of the Town by Composition. This Conquest wou'd have occ'sion'd Great joy thro' all the Kindgom, if we had not been bound by the Treaty made with the *English* to put it into their hands. However in a few days after, we were in no Condition to make that Reflexion, by an Accident of a far greater Moment. The King, whose Inclination was all Warlike, being not to be prevail'd with for two or three Years last past, to abstain from repairing into his Armies, he came during this Campagne, to visit the Fort of *Mardyck*, an

Unhealthfull hole of it self, but whose Infection was still the Greater thro' the Garrisons way of Living, that Eating only Fruits and filthy things, was for the most part sick. However this Prince being Young, and not knowing the Danger, must notwithstanding needs stop there, that he might see All, and having taken-in the Ill Air, he return'd to *Calice* with the Sun on his head, which complicated his misfortune. Whereupon he began to undergo great pains, but having conceal'd his Malady for two days, for fear they shou'd oblige him to keep his Bed, at last on the third he found himself so weak that he cou'd no longer dissemble it, on the fourth he was still worse, which alarm'd the Court and especially the Cardinal, who saw his Fortune lost, if this Young Prince happen'd to dye ; for tho' his Majesty had a Brother, he cou'd not promise himself that he shou'd have his favour as he had the Kings. The Queen-Mother was also under an Affliction that's beyond expression : But it was quite another thing at some days end, for it was not only believ'd he cou'd never scape, but the very Curtains were drawn, the Physicians having declar'd him Dead. Some Courtiers being deceiv'd by these words, went to pay their Homages to the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, but they had occasion to rue it, for as those sorts of things are rarely pardon'd, the King look'd on them with an ill eye, when he had recover'd his health. In the meanwhile, the Queen never leaving him day or night, seeing he was abandon'd by his Physicians, caus'd one to come from *Abbeville*, whom she had heard well spoken off, and he having giv'n him two Potions of *Emeric* wine being not yet in use at that time, freed him from his illness to the Courtiers great Satisfaction, whose hearts this  
Young

Young Prince had won by manners altogether Engaging. They alone did not rejoyce at this happy Success, the People shar'd in it as deeply as became them, and gave a thousand testimonies of their gladness. But not a man had more joy than the Viscount *de Turenne*, who had often discours'd the King, and discover'd in his Conversation many great things, which Others knew not so well as he; yet as he cou'd not testify it to him orally, he testify'd it to him by Letters, to which the King made a most obliging Answer, signifying to him among other things, that what he dayly perform'd for his Service, perswaded him sufficiently of his good will, without its being necessary for his confirming it to him by Letters. This having giv'n him still the more desire to Sacrifice himself for his Majesty, he pursu'd his Conquests, which he still augmented with that of *Bergues*, *Furnes*, and *Dixmuyden*: But when he was preparing to push things further, several Seditions broke-out in the Provinces of *France*; which occasion'd the sending Troups thither: As there were no considerable Persons that buoy'd-up the Rebels, they were quickly reduc'd to Obedience by the punishment of some; *Bonnefon* was Beheaded, some others were hang'd; & all this having requir'd only the time of going and coming, there remain'd still enow to terminate this Campaigne, as it had been begun. Whereupon Orders were dispatcht to the Mareschal *de la Ferté*, to Advance with the Troups that had Winter'd in his Government, and the Viscount *de Turenne* having promis'd to make head against the Enemies, *La Ferté* Besieg'd *Gravelines*, which we had lost again in the time of our Civil Wars. The Mareschal *de la Ferté* having accomplisht this Enterprize, the Viscount *de Turenne* took *Oudenarde*, and *Menin*, after which he march'd against the

City of *Tyres*. The Prince *de Ligne*, who Commanded the *Spanish* Cavalry, knowing we were coming to invest it, quitted the Neighbourhood of that Place, under which he was Encamp'd, and advanc'd as far as a *Defilé*, where he not only disputed the pass, but also repuls'd two or three thousand Horse: The Viscount *de Turenne* was strangely amaz'd to see 'em come back in Disorder, and having Commanded the Count *de Roys* to march with the Regiment *Royale Aranger*, of which he was Colonel, he retriev'd the Others Reputation, and oblig'd the Prince *de Ligne* to retreat; whereupon the Place having been invested by this Count, who was the Viscount *de Turenne's* Nephew, the Siege was quickly form'd, and had the Success as so many Others had had. This startl'd the *Spaniards*, who saw so many good Towns wrested out of t'eir hands, without being able to use any Prevention; for as their Dominions are divided from one another, the Succours they might draw thence, were reduc'd to a small matter, before they arriv'd where they were necessary. In the mean while, little more prosperous were they in *Italy*, where the Neighbourhood of so many Principalities and Kingdoms, seem'd, to shelter them from such like Disgraces, for they had not been wanting to lose also that Campagne, the City of *Trin*, which they had kept at least Six or Seaven Years, that is to say since our Domestique Divisions had render'd our Allys unprovided of all sort of Defence. They endeavour'd to repair this Loss by the taking of *Valence*, which they pretended to Surprize by Scalado; but they were so well repell'd, that they lost three or four hundred men in that Action: Besides this we took *Mortare*; and having made Inroads as far as the Gates of *Milan*, the Inhabitants of that Town thought

thought themselves irrecoverably lost, tho' the *Spaniards* had put their Principal Forces into that Pl ce. We were not altogether so Successfull in *Catalonia*, where having Beleagu'd *Campredon*, we were compell'd to raise the Siege : However as this was a small matter in Comparison of what had happen'd in *Flanders* and *Italy*, all the Neighbouring Potentates were wonderfully Surpriz'd to see so great an Alteration in the *Spanish* Monarchy, which gave, as I may say, the Law to all *Europe*, not above fifteen or sixteen years afore. Yet it self was startled, and as it saw no Remedy, it held divers Councils to stop the Course of our good fortune. Many were of Opinion to conclude the *Infanta's* Marriage with the King, but the Difficulty mention'd a little afore still subsisted, the King of *Spain* cou'd not resolve upon't, so as that recourse was to be had to other means. The Court of *France* knowing the Repugnance the *Spaniards* had to this Match, set their thoughts to work, to provide for the King on another side, and there being not a more agreeable Princess in *Europe*, nor that better suited his Majesty, than the Daughter of the Duke of *Savoy* ; Her Picture was sent for, which so pleas'd the King, that he resolv'd to go see the Original ; whereupon the Court took a Progress to *Lion*, whither the Dutcheß of *Savoy* repair'd with her Children. The Princess of *Savoy* did not by her Presence deface the agreeable Ideas the King had form'd of her, and as he was susceptible of Amorous Impressions, he was in a great Disposition to Love her ; when the *Spaniards*, seeing the War Eternal, if this Match came to be consummated, sent *Pimentel* to *Lions* to break it off. His coming Extremely pleas'd the Queen Mother, who above all this wish'd that the King her Son might not Engage

gage in any Alliance with any other than the  
*Infanta of Spain*; *Mr. de Lionne* was commissioned  
 to Conferr with him, and these two Ministers  
 having agreed most of the points, the rest was re-  
 mitted to the Discretion of Cardinal *Mazarin*, and  
 of *Don Lewis de Haro*, the two Crowns two Princi-  
 pal Ministers. In the mean while, the *Spaniards*  
 fearing lest the Rest of *Flanders* wou'd be won  
 in the following Campagne, demanded a Truce,  
 which was granted them, and the two Ministers  
 repairing to the Frontier, agreed upon what re-  
 main'd to regulate; Insomuch that after a War of  
 so long a Continuance, the People began to tast  
 the fruits of Peace. The King knowing that all  
 things were regulated, made Preparations to go  
 receive his Bride, who was to be brought him as  
 far as the Entrance of his Dominions. He wou'd  
 needs have the Viscount *de Turenne* to attend him  
 in this journey, and sent for him on purpose from  
 the Army, whither he had sent him to have an  
 Eye to all things: For as in Truces a Surprize is  
 more particularly to be apprehended, the Viscount  
*de Turenne* himself had been of Opinion to repair  
 to the Army. The King being come to *St. Jean de*  
*Luz*, was very willing to see the *Infanta* without  
 making himself known; but the King of *Spain*,  
 who wou'd needs conduct his Daughter himself,  
 and had often seen the Kings Picture, easily knew  
 him; the King being discover'd, no longer con-  
 ceal'd himself. The two Kings Embrac'd with great  
 Cordiality, after which they presented to one ano-  
 ther the Principal Lords of their Court. The Vis-  
 count *de Turenne*, not advancing one of the first,  
 the King of *Spain* ask'd to see him, saying he was  
 very willing to make his Peace with him, that he  
 franckly confess'd he had often born him an ill will,  
 considering

considering he had been several times the Cause that he had not Slept heartily ; but that since the Peace was made, he was content to pardon him. The Viscount *de Turenne* receiv'd as became him these testimonies of Esteem, and this first Interview of the two Kings being terminated with much Civility on either side, each withdrew his own Ways. In the mean while, all things were put in readiness to forward the Marriage, and *Don Lewis de Haro*, to whom the King had sent his Procuration to Marry the *Infanta*, having satisfy'd this Ceremony, she was put into the King her Husband's hands, who after having Marry'd her anew in the face of the Church, return'd to *Paris*, where a Magnificent Entry was prepared for his Majesty. The Viscount *de Turenne* did not leave him one step in all this journey, and from his Goodness he receiv'd Sundry tokens of Esteem and Acknowledgment ; for the King being not contented with giving him the Charge of Colonel-General of the Horse, vacated also that of *Mareschal de Camp* General, with which he gratify'd the Viscount. The King wou'd have conferr'd ou him many other favours, if he had not been chill'd in those his kind Intentions, by the Aversion he bore People of the Religion ; for which reason he himself propos'd to him to turn Catholique, and made him hope, that in case of Conformity, he wou'd revive the Charge of Constable in his favour, that had been Suppress'd after *Lefdiguere's* Death, who had last possess'd it : but after having thank'd the King for his goodness towards him, he desir'd to be Excus'd if he cou'd not obey him in this point, adding that he would not betray his Conscience for all the Riches and the Honours in the World. The King did not Esteem him the less for this, nor did any of the Courtiers,



Courtiers, knowing the Offers he had slight d, In the mean while, the King being come to *Paris* was receiv'd there with an admirable Magnificence; Every Individual with Emulation striving to testify the Value and Affection he had for his Majesty, and this Prince began from that time to attract the Admiration of his People, by the manner of his management of the Government. But it became quite another thing after the Cardinals Death, which happen'd suddainly: For as all Transactions cou'd only be attributed solely to his Majesty, they plainly saw that nothing but great matters were to be Expected from this Prince, who from the beginnings gave such great Marks of Prudence and Wildom. Both which were principally manifested in the Choice he made of his Ministers, after he had caus'd *Fouquet* the Superintendant of the Finances, to be Confin'd; who being become Suspected to his Majesty by the Memoires the Cardinal had left him, Completed his own Downfall, by an Expence above the Pow'r of a Subject: For besides his Houses and his Moveables, wherein Profusion equally reign'd; he gave the King one Entertainment, that cost him above fifty thousand Crowns. He was secur'd at *Nants*, and the King having intimation that he had gain'd many of the Governours of the Places by the means of his Money, he bid the Viscount *de Turenne* follow him, that if any thing happen'd he might have him ready at hand to serve him with his Counsel, and to Execute what he shou'd Command: But no Body stirring, tho' Memoires were found among his Papers, that justify'd the Intelligences I have mention'd, the Court return'd to *Fountain-Bleau*, where the Young Queen had staid with the Queen-Mother. In the mean while, this Superintendants Process was drawn-up; But the  
Desire

Desire that *Colbert*, His Successour, in the management of the Finances, had to destroy him, having made him seek after shamefull means to bring that Design about, this latter Crime made the other appear the more Innocent, so as that the Judges sav'd him. In effect, as if *Colbert* had been afraid of his justifying himself, he caus'd his Papers to be taken away from his House of *Saint Mandé*; but it being the Will of God, that *Berier*, whom he had Employ'd in that business, should leave there, out of Carelessness, a Request that was Presented to *Colbert*: This justify'd the Robbery that *Fouquet* had Suffer'd, and this later alledging it to be impossible for him to make his Defence, since he was bereav'd of the means by taking his Papers from him, he was only condemned to Banishment, tho' there was more than needed to put him to Death. *Colbert's* favour occasion'd his Punishment to be commuted into a perpetuall Imprisonment, wherein he remain'd till his Death, which did not happen till above twenty years after: but this may be said to have been for his happiness, for making a good use of his Prison, he acknowledg'd his faults, and repented his having liv'd as he had done amid Disorder; he compos'd in his Confinement some Books of Devotion and Morality, which were publish'd in his Life time, but out of Modesty wou'd not attribute them to himself. Be it as it will, the long Penitence he underwent, attract'd him the Compassion of the People, and as they extremely hated *Colbert's* Ministry, they regretted his, and they express'd as much grief for his Death, as they had express'd joy for his imprisonment.

During these Transactions, the young Queen was brought to Bed of a Son, which rejoyc'd all France;

All

All the Grandees complimented the King on this occasion, and the Viscount *de Turenne* having acquitted himself of it as well as Others, the King told him, he shou'd be very glad he wou'd be one day like him, but that his Religion wou'd be the Cause he cou'd not commit to him the Care of his Education, which he wou'd have willingly have desir'd for th'inspiring Sentiments into him worthy of his Birth. The Viscount *de Turenne* did not answer this new Onset otherwise than with a low Bow: but the King not for this desisting, was dayly attacking him with the like Discourses; which did not at all perplex the Viscount *de Turenne*, for he was still so zealous for his Religion, that the Offer of a Crown wou'd not have been capable of Making him Change it. Three or Four years Slipt away in this manner, without any considerable matter occurring in that State, unless that the Warr, that had been Extinguish'd had like to have been reinflam'd by an Unexpected Accident. The Count *d'Estrades* was th'Ambassadour of *France* at *London*, and the Baron *de Vatteville* that of *Spain*. In an Entry made by another Ambassadour, as it is usual with those possess'd of the Same Dignity, to send their Coaches to such a Solemnity, the Baron *de Vatteville* brib'd some *Englishmen* to favour his Design of getting his to pass before that of the Count *d'Estrades*. In effect th'Ambassadour of *France* his Coach coming up, they cut his Horses Harnets, and while he was setting them again to rights, the Baron *de Vatteville's* took the First place, which oblig'd th'other to return Home. As this was a signal Affront for the Crown, the King made a great noise at this Action, and having demanded satisfaction for it in *Spain*, without prevailing, he sent Orders to his Ambassadour at *Madrid* to return to *France*,

France, and his Majesty prepar'd for War. He held divers Councils thereupon with the Viscount de Turenne, who advising him against his own Interests that were to be at the Head of the Armies, told the King, that it sufficed him his having shewn his Resentment without still pushing things to extremity; that the Spaniards not being in a State to renew the War, little Appearance wou'd there be, that upon so Unjust a thing they wou'd expose themselves to the Inconveniences that might happen from this Rupture; that his opinion was, that they shou'd much rather abandon their Pretensions, and that a little time wou'd Inform him what Measures were to be taken. Having thus stopp'd this Young Princes Courage that hurry'd him to Actions of great Renown, he gave the Spaniards leisure to consider this Action more warily than they had yet done, so as that after many Deliberations, they resolv'd to disown this Business of the Baron de Wastaville. The King did not speak himself content with this satisfaction no more than with the Offers that were made him to declare that they did not pretend to dispute the Step with him, he requir'd to have this Declaration giv'n him in Writing; for as th' Affront had been Publique, words seem'd not to be sufficient to repair it. The Spaniards, having granted this Satisfaction in hopes of things one day changing their Aspect, it wou'd be easy to disown this weakness, obstinately persever'd in a Non-Compliance, so as that Matters wou'd have come to the last extremity, if the King in consideration of his People, whom it was necessary to ease after so long a War, had not found this expedient; that the Declaration shou'd be in the presence of all the Forreign Ministers, which was accepted by the

the *Spaniards*. This Affair having been thus pacify'd, there arose another, which tho' it came from quite another side than that of the *Spaniards*, yet was not wanting to occasion it to be believ'd that the King of *Spain* had a hand in it by reason of his Concern in preserving the repose of *Italy*. This Dispute arose between the Pope and the King, upon the Subject of some Violences, that had been done to the Duke of *Crequi*, his Ambassadour at *Rome* by the Pope's Guards. The King having Reason on his side, and knowing his Strength, did not consider, as some of his Predecessours had silyly enough done, whether it was with the Pope he had to do, and pretended that his Holyness's Dignity did not exempt him from doing his Majesty Justice: But the Pope, pretending the Contrary, caus'd his Army to March into *Italy*, after having sent his Ambassadour Orders to repair to his Royal Person. The *Spaniards*, being not sorry that the King undertook this War that they might have occasion to Create him Enemies, endeavour'd to Provoke the Pope against him, and incline to the *Venetians* to undertake his Defence: But the Pope wisely considering that the Spiritual Arms were not sometimes sufficient to resist the Temporal, and that he wou'd be oppress'd before he cou'd be Reliev'd, he chose to come to an Accommodation with the King. Where'ore he granted his Majesty, that for a Reparation of th' Offence done to his Ambassadour, a Pyramide shou'd be erected in the Place where the thing happen'd, that so it might be an Eternal Monument to Posterity of the Satisfaction he had pretended to give him; but the King contented himself with having caus'd it to be Erected, consented some time after to have it taken down. In the mean while the Kings Honour  
 Augmented

Augmented dayly, and gradually as he grew in Age, the world discover'd new Qualities in his Majesty, which would have exalted him above all the Princes in *Europe*, if he had not suffer'd himself to be too much led away with Love, and with an excessive desire of acquiring Honour. He fell in Love with *Mademoiselle de la Valliere*, *Madam's* Maid of Honour, and this Amour made the Young Queen sometimes pass her time sorrowfully. After having gratify'd his fancy on that side, he set his thoughts to satisfy it on the other, to which he was excited by the Marquis of *Luvoy*, a Minister that began to enter into Credit, and has since acquir'd a great Authority by his great Services. He was the Son of *Monsieur le Tellier* Secretary of State, aforementioned, a Personage that had never abus'd his favour, and who in a time when it was difficult to Screen one's self from hatred, had made many Envyers, but few Enemies. The Marquis *de Louvois* who had the survivance of his Place having much Ambition, thought that the War wou'd be more favourable to him than the Peace; for which reason without minding the Renunciation the King had made by his Contract of Marriage, he insinuated into him the War against the *Spaniards*, under pretext that the Queen had Right to divers Provinces in *Flanders*, according to a certain Law, which he caus'd to be explain'd in his favour. Thus the War was undertaken upon this Process, to which the Parties were not Summon'd, and *Flanders* was all on a sudden Invaded, the King meaning to go thi her himself. He did not Communicate this Design to the Viscount *de Turenne* till some few days before his departure, having told him that he rely'd upon him for this Expedition, wherein he wou'd follow only his Council; for

tho' the Prince of *Condé* return'd to Court immediately after the Peace, the King still kept him at a distance, and had giv'n him some Subjects of Mortification. The Viscount *de Turenne*, who had experienc'd the King's goodness in sundry Occasions, principally when the point in Agitation was to Marry the Duke of *Bouillon*, his Nephew, whom he caus'd to Marry a Person, accounted to be of a much higher Birth than she seem'd, was overjoy'd to see himself still distinguish'd in this. However he lost much of his wonted Gayety, for he had try'd one of the heaviest Misfortunes that can befall a man. He had lost his Wife, after a long tedious sickness: and as he lov'd her as much as he was oblig'd to do by her Virtue, it was impossible to find Consolation. The King had done all in his Pow'r to alleviate his Grief, what by testifying to him the share he took therein, or by granting him dayly some new favour; He had made the Count *de Duras* Duke and Peer in his consideration, and his Relations and Friends were so well treated, as Created a Jealousy in others. But as time alone cou'd cure him, all th'other Remedies us'd for that purpose prov'd in vain. The King, whose Goodness cou'd not be greater in his regard, being willing to spare him a Remembrance so sensible to him, discourst him now only on the approaching Campaign; And having given him wherewithall to make his Equipage, the Viscount *de Turenne* took Care to assemble th'Army, whether the King repair'd in a few days after with all the Court. This Young Prince being greedy of fame, wou'd needs have him tell him all things, and as he shutt himself up with him sometimes sev'n or eight hours together without admitting any Minister, he was by  
all

all look'd on as a favourite in a Condition to do whatever he pleas'd. The Marquis de Louvois became jealous, and tho' the Warr gave him still the more access to the King than he commonly had, he was afraid he might bereave him of his Majesties kind opinion. The King, the longer he convers'd with the Viscount de Turenne, the more he relish'd his Wis, press'd him then to accept the Charge of Constable, upon the Conditions he had offer'd him; for an Example he cited to him the Duke de Lesdignieres, who had not boggld to Change Religion upon the like Account: But the Viscount de Turenne stopp'd his Majesties Mouth, with telling him, that he thought himself in the Right Way; and that if he had another Opinion, he shou'd be very unhappy if he did not do what he desired.

In the mean while, the Campaign began, or rather the Disorder of the Spaniards, for properly speaking I cannot call War, what was not attended with any Defence. Charleroy open'd his Gates as soon as we came before the Town. Douay made but little more resistance, nor Tournay, Ath, Courtray and Oudenarde, and if L'Isle had not held out a little longer, all this Expedition wou'd rather have had th' Appearance of Intelligence rather than of any thing else. All these Conquests with some Others of less Importance were owing to the Viscount de Turenne's Prudence and Conduct, while that the Marescal d'Aumont with a flying Camp took Bergues, Furnes and Dixmuyden, which we had restor'd to the Spaniards upon the General Peace. They saw all this without being able to oppose it; for they could hardly bring five or six thousand men into the field, with whom Marsin, who had been Excluded the Amnesty upon the Conclusion of the Peace,



Peace, attempted the Relief of *L'Isle*: but not coming near it 'till the Town was reduc'd to Extremity, it Surrendred before they had news of one another. The King then pass'd thro' *L'Isle* to go to *Marfin*, and surpriz'd him in such manner as that he thought only of retreating. However as the King had march'd only with one Detachment, he was not only in a Condition to make his Defence, but also of giving a stroak that might have repair'd so Disadvantageous a Campaign: but thinking he shou'd have to do with the Whole Army, he gave ground, by which his Rear suffer'd much. The *Spaniards* feebleness, was matter of much thinking to such Potentates as did not love such Neighbours as the *French*. The *Hollanders*, especially, whom the thing more nearly toucht than Others, were alarm'd, and not having been able to oblige the King upon their Requests to leave the *Spaniards* in Peace, they resolv'd to Employ Arms to that purpose, since there was noother way to secure their Quiet. For this purpose they made a Treaty with *England* and *Sueden*, by which these three Powers united themselves together to save *Flanders*, which ran a great risque without their Succours. However as it was none of their Interests to proceed to Warr, they only put themselves into a posture of making themselves feared, after having made considerable warlike reparations, they signify'd to the King that they wou'd declare against whoever wou'd not make Peace. Tho' this Term was a little less harsh than another they might have made use off, the King had not the less resentment against the *Hollanders*, to whom he imputed more than to Others the Obstacles that interven'd to his Enterprizes: However as after so formall a Declaration it was for him to choose his Course, he promis'd

to lay down Arms, if the *Spaniards* for a Compensation for his Pretentions, wou'd leave to him his Conquests. These Offers appear'd harsh to the *Spaniards*, who gave out that these Pretentions were only imaginary; but th' Other Pow'rs having their Reasons, as I have newly said, to terminate Matters by mildness, these proposals of the King were put into Deliberation, and a Convention was held at *Aix-la-Chappelle*, where the *Spaniards*, after their Wonted rate, Spinning out things into a Length, gave the King time to make New Conquests; He took the *Franche-Comté* in Eight days space, not in truth by the force of his Arms but by the Treachery of the Governour, who had sold it to him, before he left *Paris*. The Marquis de *Louvois*, who as I said before, cou'd not Support *Mr. de Turenne's* favour, Employ'd the Prince of *Condé* in that Conquest, that by substituting so fam'd a Caprain in his Room, the King might insensibly lose the Esteem he had for the Viscount. The Loss of the County not only startled the *Spaniards*, but allso th' Assembly of *Aix-la-Chapelle*; so as that to stop the Course of so good a fortune, they all determin'd at length to grant the King what he had demanded; but he wou'd needs have comprehended in his Conquest, that which had been newly made, which none agreeing to, the World Expected things were coming to Extremity, so much the more as that Preparations for War were made on all sides. However the King making Reflexion that it was exposing himself to strange Consequences; He that had not any Ships, to resist the *English* and *Hollanders*, who were extreme Powerfull at Sea, as to expose himself to a War, whose Success might have been so uncertain. It is inconceivable how much Confidence the King put in the Viscount *de Turenne*. in all those Parleys of Peace

and War; and but that the Interest of the State requir'd that the one shou'd be preferr'd before the other, I shou'd say that the Jealousy the Viscount *de Turenne* conceiv'd on this account, smoothen'd many Rubbs that otherwise wou'd have been met with. Be it as it will, never Courtier appear'd so Moderate in his favour as did the Viscount *de Turenne*, he requir'd not of the King either the least favour for himself or for his Friends, which extremely pleas'd the King, who offer'd him again several times the Charge of *Constable*, on the Conditions he had propos'd to him afore. But it was for the Glory of this Great Captain not to Change his Religion in a time when it might have been thought to have been done out of Interest; and tho' that one of his Nephews, who had obtain'd a Cardinals-Cap from *Rome*, had already begun to stagger him very much in his Opinion, he wou'd not make a step in a time when the least Motion might have been suspected; yet he had still a certain Scruple left, which made him dread taking that leap: But the Fathers of the Oratory with whom he had secret Conferences at the *Ce- lessins*, having found the means to persuade him to all intents, he at length declar'd his Design, which as much Rejoyc'd the King as it Afflicted the Protestants. But it was impossible but that a Prince who knew better how to manage the Sword, than to disentangle himself from so many things as lay not within his Sphere, could resist able men as ply'd him on all sides. However as he still feared it might be said to have been Interest that caus'd him to do it, he refus'd all the Favours the King offer'd him, which gave admiration not only to those whose Party he had newly embrac'd, but also to those he had newly forsaken. The Fathers  
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of the Oratory, who had contributed most to so great a Change, had after this the greatest share in the Affairs of his Conscience: But tho' that their Party was entirely opposite to that of the *Jesuits*, he did not forbear following Father *Mascaron*, whose Sermons pleas'd him above all others, on the score of his Eloquence, and of a most peculiar Gracefullness he had in the Pulpit. Thus he spent three or four Years in the Exercises of Piety, without being troubled by Motions of War, from which the Kingdom was Exempted. But the King who had a Grudging to the *Hollanders* for what they had done, having found the means to disunite them from the Kings of *England* and *Sweden*, prevail'd with the former to make War upon them by Sea, after having promis'd him to declare against them by Land: As among Sovereigns there's never a want of a Pretext for a rupture when they please, the two Kings found quickly matter to pick a Quarrel with the Republique; but withall this, they would, perhaps, have found great Difficulties in the effecting their Designs, if it had not been divided in it self by the different Interests that Reign'd there. Three Parties were there, of one of which the Prince of *Orange* was the head; *John de Wijk* of the Other; and the Other had none, nor wou'd it have any, as believing it to be derogating to the Dignity of the Republique to have one. The First had for Object the rendring of the Prince of *Orange* as Potent as his Predecessours had been: The Second wou'd exclude him from all sorts of Employments to Establish it self upon his Ruines, and the Third was for the advancement neither of the one nor of the other, because that, as I have newly said, the Republique after having render'd it self so Flourishing of it

self, had no need neither of the Prince of *Orange* nor of *de Wish*, to maintain it self in the Splendour it was in: However, when the two Kings came to Declare War; this third Party perceiv'd there to be a necessity to have a head for the opposing such Dangerous Enemies, so as that the thing only turning between the Prince of *Orange* and *de Wish*, all the Provinces found themselves as it were divided between the One or Other: But the most part still remembring the great Actions of this Prince's Predecessours, to whom, as I think I have already said, was owing their Liberty, they suffer'd themselves insensibly to be led into the desire of seeing him at their head, and he was at length, notwithstanding all the Obstacles *de Wish* us'd to the Contrary, proclaim'd Captain General of the State. This Prince, tho' without Experience, by reason of his Green Youth, was not wanting to give all the Orders necessary for a stout Defence, and, if his Advice had been follow'd, many Places had been abandoned wherein a Number of Garrisons had been maintain'd to no Purpose: But not having been Master of the Resolutions, he saw himself a General without an Army; for the States far from having Troupes sufficient to put an Army into the field, they were far from having enough to line all the Towns they pretended to keep. The King meeting with so much ease in his Designs, enter'd into the heart of the Country by the means of the Electour of *Cologne*, who had also declared War against the *Hollanders*; and the Bishop of *Munster* attacking them on another side, the Republique was in great Perplexity. The King who had made extraordinary Preparations for this War, had giv'n Employment to the Prince of *Condé*. This Prince march'd away before with

with an Army of thirty five thousand men, and the King follow'd him at five or six Leagues Distance with as numerous Troups. He wou'd not have the Viscount *de Turenne* to leave him, for being to advance very far into the enemies Country, he was very willing to have such a Person as him about him to free him out of Danger. And indeed, such things might have happen'd as wou'd have put him in some Danger; he was going to engage himself amid Powers that ought to be extremely suspected to him, joyn'd to this that he left *Mastricht* behind him, which might give him a furious Disquiet, for the enemies had put so great a Garrison into that Place, that many Armies were not more considerable, and things might turn after such a manner as to make the Retreat difficult. To remedy this, it would have been necessary to have attack'd that Place: But the King fearing it might take him up too much time, or that he might lose there a part of his Army, he drew near the *Rhin*, where he shou'd not meet with so much resistance. The *Spaniards* who watch'd all his Paces, being little less concern'd in them than the *Hollanders* themselves, had still reason to augment their jealousy, by the ill Treatments, they saw themselves expos'd to; for the King having not been able to make that step without passing o'er their Territories, they were ravag'd whatever Care he had taken to prevent it. However, as he had them re-inburs'd for the forrages his Army took, it wou'd not have been to them a Subject for a Rupture, if his Conquests had not augmented their Distrusts; they paid him, nevertheless, in his Passage, all the Honours that are due to a Great King, the Governour of the Low-Countreys sent to Compliment his Majesty, and those that Commanded in the Towns, caus'd their Canon to be Fir'd when he pass'd

pass'd by them. However, it was not they only that had their Eyes turn'd upon this Expedition, all *Germany*, knowing the King to be powerfully Arm'd, trembled, if I may say it, lest he shou'd carry his Arms beyond the *Rhin*, where he was known to have Considerable Alliances; for the King of *Sweden*, tho' he allready offer'd himself to be Mediatour between the *Hollanders* and his Majesty, was his Pensioner, as well as the Electour of *Cologne*, the *Palatine*, the Duke of *Newbourg*, and the Bishop of *Munster*; and all this Procedure made it apprehended he might have quite different Aims from what appeared to the Publique. Thus every One endeavour'd to precaution himself by making Leavies. But the King's first Exploits gave quite another Apprehension, in four days space he took *Orsoy*, and *Rhinberg*, while the Prince of *Condé*, and the Viscount *de Turenne* reduc'd *Wesel*, and *Burik*. These Conquests so startled the Enemies, that they animated the King to make new Ones: But not being able, if a man may say so, to be without the Viscount *de Turenne*, he caus'd him to repair to him again, and after having pass'd the *Rhin* at *Wesel*, he march'd in the Traces of the Prince of *Condé*, who had directed his way against the Town of *Rhees*. The Garrison knowing that *Wesel*, a much stronger Place, had Surrender'd, forthwith deputed to the Prince of *Condé* to have some favourable Composition: But this Prince, who wou'd sooner have granted it some favour, if it had made an answerable Resistance, wou'd not receive it otherwise than a Prisoner of War, no more than that of *Emmerick*, which he afterwards attack'd. The Garrison of *Wesel*, of *Orsoy*, and *Burik*, had not a better Treatment, and that only of *Rhinberg* had been distinguish'd, yet not in consideration of  
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its Bravery, but because it had not stopp'd the King, who had a Design to pierce farther into the Countrey. Many other Places Surrender'd *Rift* without striking a Blow; Nay, and without waiting for the Person of the King, or that of the Prince of *Condé*, for the fright was so great, that every Individual thought he gain'd much in currying the Conquerours favour. By this means the King made himself Master of all that was not shelter'd by Rivers: But as the *Rhin*, by the means of two Branches it makes, contains a good Part of the Countrey, he thought himself at the end of his Conquests, or at least that they wou'd cost him Dearer than they had hitherto done: He thereupon consulted the Viscount *de Turenne*, who was not of Opinion to attempt to force the *Yssel*, one of those two Branches, on the Banks of which the enemies had intrench'd themselves. However to make them believe that we march'd directly against them, he perswaded the King to take that way: but at the same time he sent orders to the Prince of *Condé* to inform himself where the *Rhin* might be pass'd with less peril, that he might fall upon the back of the Enemies. The Prince of *Orange*, who had an eye to all, suspecting this Design, sent *Mombas* to the Castle of the *Tholus*, where the Prince of *Condé* had caus'd the Passage to be Sounded: But *Mombas* having abandon'd his Post either through Correspondence or Cowardice, another was to be sent in his Room, for they durst not yet abandon the *Yssel* by reason of the neighbourhood of of the Enemies Army, which still made a shew of entering that way into the heart of the Country. And indeed the King Skipt on the Right and Left, as if he had had no other Design: But all of a suddain he departed with his Horse to repair to the Prince of *Condé*'s Army, & having



having march'd all the night, he arriv'd upon the Bancks of the *Rhine* in the same place where the Prince of *Condé* had caus'd the passage to be Sounded. *Wurtz* was there to defend it, and had with him some Horse and foot : but instead of going against the Enemies, he gaz'd on them while they pass'd one by one, thinking perhaps they wou'd never have the Boldnessto pass before his eyes, or that he shou'd defeat them easily when they were pass'd, by reason that he shou'd attacque them in as small numbers as he pleas'd. But if the Contempt which the Regiment of Cuirassiers had shewn of Death, in passing so large and so rapid a River, and wherein several of that Body had been Drown'd, had wherewithall to surprize *Wurtz*, he was much more so, when that going to oppose it, he saw it come with Sword in hand, though as yet no more than the Van pass'd. We cannot say that the Brush was great or Obstinate, since that *Wurtz* his Troups gave ground as soon as they had made the first Discharge ; and this Success having put Courage into those that were still in the Water, they made hast to joyn their Companions, who after having thus drove away the Enemies, staid for them upon the Shore. The Prince of *Condé* being willing to render himself considerable to the King by the Success of this Action, which particularly regarded him, pass'd also the River with the Duke of *Anguien* his Son, and the Duke of *Longueville* his Nephew ; and as this latter had been debauching it in the Prince of *Condé's* Camp, where the King had made some stay at his Coming, the fumes of Wine not being yet dissipated, made him Commit a fault, which Occasion'd his Death, and that of several Persons of Quality : For instead of following the Prince of *Condé*, who advanc'd towards some Infantry that were

were intrench'd on this side the Castle of the *Thouls*, and demanded nothing more than to be assured that they shou'd have good Quarter giv'n them to lay down Arms, he himself alone went to insult them in their very Retrenchments, which caus'd it to make a Discharge upon him, and upon the Prince of *Condé*, who doubting of his Imprudence was advanc'd to prevent his Nephew: But not coming soon enough, he had the regret to see him fall Dead before his face, as well as several Persons of Condition, who were rang'd around him. However as they did not discontinue their firing he was wounded in his hand, which so inflam'd him, that instead of the Promises he had before pass'd to the Enemies of giving them Quarter, he had them all put to the Sword. In the mean while, the King, who staid on the other side the *Rhine*, press'd his Troups to pass with all imaginable Diligence, and this occasion'd their throwing themselves by Squadrons into the Water; but tho' this seem'd to be a much greater Contempt of Death, yet they did not hazard so much as the Others had done, because that as the Great Number of Horses broke the Stream, they withall animated one another. Thus a great part of the Army having already pass'd, the King caus'd a Bridge to be laid over the *Rhine*, which was however needless, for the King was hardly got over the River, when he had an Account of the Enemies having abandoned the *Tisse* for fear of being taken behind. Upon this Notice he turn'd back, and at the same time sent a Relation to the Viscount de *Turenne* of the success of this day, which would have been one of the most Glorious of his Life, without the Duke of *Longueville*'s Imprudence, who had caus'd a World of brave Men to perish with him. The Viscount

*de Turenne* receiv'd this News with an inconceivable joy, and having divulg'd it among the Troupes that ~~staid~~ <sup>staid</sup> with him, Every Individual regretted his not having been present at an Action that was like to make so much Noise in the World. And in truth it was not very usual to see such a River as the *Rhine* pass'd in the Enemies Presence; so as they may be said to have been very faulty, for if they wou'd but have advanc'd into the Water, when our men still pass'd but one by one, we shou'd without Difficulty have been oblig'd to retire; It is also certain, that from hence proceeded the Disorder the Republique was in, for the King wou'd have thought twice before he wou'd have attempted to pass the *Yssel*, which was thought to be much more Dangerous than indeed it was, for the King had been assured that the River was not fordable, that the Entrance, and going out were Difficult, for the Year was so dry, that there was hardly any Water in the River, yet when they came to pass it, they found little more than a foot and a half.

The Prince of *Orange* Retreated toward *Utrecht*, but the Consternation of this Town was so great, that his Presence cou'd not Encourage it. And indeed tho' it was still Cover'd by several Citys that were not yet attack'd, it sent its Keys to the King, who was march'd to the Siege of *Doesburg*. In the mean while, the Prince of *Condé* being much incommoded by his Wound, cou'd not take on him again the Command of his Army, and it was given to the Viscount *de Turenne*, who had a long Conference with the King and with the Prince of *Condé*, touching the Present State of things. The King askt them their Opinion, and they told him that they were mistaken if he held the Conduct  
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he had thitherto held, if he pretended to keep so many Places; that he saw as well as they that his Army dayly diminisht by so many Garrisons; that he ought to be satisfy'd with retaining some Passes, and that at least without being ever strong in the field, he would quickly see *Germany* in Motion, that must needs be jealous of his Conquests. The King declar'd that he relish'd their Reasons; but having discourst the Marquis de *Louvois*, who dayly acquired more and more Ascendant o'er his Mind, he forgot the Consequences that these two Princes had made him observe; Insomuch that contrary to their Advice he resolv'd to follow that of this Minister, which was to keep all the Conquests he cou'd make. We cannot truly speak the Marquis de *Louvois's* Design in doing this, unless that he thought to reduce the *Hollanders* so low, that they should be oblig'd to Submit themselves to all sorts of Conditions before that they cou'd hope for Succours. Thus believing that the King wou'd be in a Condition to retain his Conquests, he wou'd not abandon them; he might have still another reason, viz. That as he had Intelligence with the Prince de *Lokowitz*, the Emperours first Minister, he trusted in the promises this Prince made him of Prevailing with his Master to keep the Peace. Be it as it will, his Advice having been follow'd preferably to that of the Prince of *Condé*, and of the Viscount de *Turenne*, the King found himself with Six or Seaven Thousand men in a few Days after, tho' he was entred the field at the head of so flourishing an Army. That of the Viscount de *Turenne* was little more Numerous at some days End, for after having taken *Arnhem*, he reduc'd Eight or Ten Places more, wherein he was oblig'd to put Garrisons. However tho' that among these there were many strong

strong Ones, not one made any reasonable opposition, unless that of *Nimiegben*, which held him tack Seav'n or Eight days; not but that he might have taken it in less time if he had so minded, but he wou'd not Squander away his Soldiers as they did in the Kings Army, where they caus'd 'em to carry the Bavins, and mount the Guard in open Day, as if the Life of so many brave Men had not been a thing to be carefully preserved. But the Marquis de *Louvois* said, that more Soldiers perish'd by fatigues, than in thus Exposing them sometimes: that this was necessary, particularly, in Sieges, where the least delay was of so great a Consequence, that it was in no wise to be remedy'd afterwards; Wherefore to make Dispatch, they no longer minded to open the Trenches at a reasonable Distance, but open'd it so near as cost a great many men. Yet this did not hinder the King from pushing-on his Conquests as far as the Gates of *Amsterdam*: But the Marquis de *Rochefort* Commanding on that side, having miss'd of *Muideim*, of which he might have made himself Master, without striking a Blow; the Enemies who had committed some faults on their side, remedy'd them after they had rid themselves of *de Wijk*, who was become suspected to several, and principally to the Populace, by whose hands he fell. In the mean while, the King, who had stopt at the Gates of *Utrecht* in hopes that the Peace which the States had caus'd to be propos'd to him, having not been able to obtain what he demanded, plainly perceiv'd the fault he had committed, in not having believ'd the Prince of *Condé*, and the Viscount de *Turenne*, for if he had advanc'd towards *Amsterdam* at the head of a Potent Army, this Town that was allready wavering, wou'd never have dar'd

dared to take Vigorous Resolutions : But seeing him with not above Six or Seaven Thousand Men, it had breathing time, and he for his part durst not Engage further with so small a Number. But the greatest misfortune that befell him from this Oversight, was, that the Marquis *de Brandenburg* being gain'd by the *Hollander's* mony, took the field at the head of twenty five thousand Men, which began to set all *Germany* in Motion, and the more since the Emperour was also upon the point of declaring himself : But the Prince *de Lokowitz*, having deferr'd the Causing his Orders to be Executed, the Campaign pass'd without any thing considerable being done, which being come to the Emperour's knowledge, he caus'd this Minister to be secur'd and depriv'd him of his favour. The Marquis *de Brandenburg's*, March did, nevertheless, produce this Effect, that the King return'd home, after having endeavour'd to surprize *Belduc*, where there was only a Simple Garrison; but it chancing to rain two or three days together, the Town was secur'd by it's situation, which in such times renders it impregnable : for being Seated in a very low Place, and all surrounded with a Marsh, the water quickly Spreads it self around, nay and came as far as to *Bortel* two Leagues from thence, where the King had fix'd his Quarter. Having thus perceiv'd that there was nothing for him to do on that side, he took his journey for *France*, after having giv'n the Viscount *de Turenne* order to re-assemble the most Troups he could, to march against the Marquis *de Brandenburg* who advanc'd in long Marches. The Viscount *de Turenne* wou'd not mind him, that if he had been so pleas'd he might have prevented this Accident : but having seen the Prince of *Condé* who had caus'd himself to be carry'd to *Arnhem*, he

took measures with him to divert the King from having so much Confidence in his Minister, who had not yet Sufficient Experience to regulate all things according to his Phancy. *Monsieur le Tellier* having got the Wind of this Design, and fearing this might stop his Sons fortune, found the means to gain the Prince of *Condé*, by the Promises he made him, that the King, thenceforward, should only employ his Highness in the most considerable Expeditions, and as this Prince had a Secret Jealousy of the Confidence the King put in the Viscount *de Turenne*, he did not trouble himself much about keeping the Promise he had given him. In the mean while the King was very uneasy as to the event of matters beyond the *Rhine*, where the Viscount *de Turenne* was advanced with Twelve Thousand Men, for he had found it more convenient to go meet the Marquis *de Brandenburg*, than to give him time still to Encrease his Army; However as such a handful of Men did not capacitate him to hazard a Battle, the King sent him a Reinforcement of Four Thousand. The Marquis *de Brandenburg* had many more, as I have already said; but as the Viscount *de Turenne* had only Choice Troups, he drew near him, with a resolution to deliver him Battle. The Marquis *de Brandenburg* fearing that in those beginnings, the French Fury, which is extremely dangerous, might cause him to receive some Check, thought it convenient to cover himself with a River; wherefore he repass'd the *Weser*, and having put some Men into *Ums* and other small Cities, that were upon the Viscount *de Turenne's* Passage, he waited to take other Resolutions by the Enemys March. Many wou'd there have been who in the Viscount *de Turenne's* room wou'd have contented

tented themselves with having drove the Marquis *de Brandenburg* as far as beyond the *Weser*, but having had notice that divers Motions were made in the Empire in favour of the *Hollanders*, he thought it became him to prevent their running to a head, which might have pernicious Consequences if he found not the means to stop them: and as this might seem to depend on the Success he shou'd have against the Marquis *de Brandenburg*, he pass'd the *Weser*, after having made sure of the Towns wherein he left Garrisons: They suffer'd themselves to be Batter'd for a day or two, but the Breach being made they open'd their Gates. The Marquis *de Brandenburg* had no sooner notice that he pass'd the River, than that he found himself in a great Perplexity, for on the one side it seem'd to him to lessen his Reputation thus to Retreat before an Army weaker than his own, and on the other he saw a Thousand Inconveniencies, if he chanc'd to lose the Battle; but Security seeming to him preferable to all things, he took the way again for his own Territories, hoping the Viscount *de Turenne* wou'd also retreat, upon his having nothing more to fear either for himself or to Allies of the Crown. The Viscount *de Turenne* who had fatigued his Army by a long March, resolv'd then to give it some repose, but hardly did he give it three or four days Respite, but that he Pursu'd the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, who had left some Troups upon the Guard of the Passages. These Passages having been forc'd, he put his Men into Winter-Quarters in the County *de la Mark*, which extremely surpriz'd the Marquis *de Brandenburg*, who instead of taking his in the *Enemies Country*, as he had expected to have done, saw his Territories desolated as well by his own



Troups as by those of the Viscount *de Turenne*. For tho' he possess'd a Country of an extent sufficiently large to lodge them, as he had been oblig'd to put them all together, for fear the Viscount *de Turenne* might pierce further, they extremely harra's'd the places they possess'd, and those they did not possess were burden'd with many Subsidies to Supply to the present Necessities. In the mean while the Viscount *de Turenne's* Army had all things in Abundance, which made it forget the hardships it had suffer'd in so long and painfull a March. In effect it had been sometimes oblig'd to go Eight or Nine *German* Leagues, so as that both Horse and Foot found themselves equally ruin'd: But the Viscount *de Turenne* applying himself wholly to repair both, he employ'd to that purpose not only all he cou'd exact from the Enemy's Countrey, but also all the ready Mony he had, without minding what wou'd become either of himself or of his Family. The Officers being little accusom'd to serve under Generals like him, strangely amaz'd to see him so dis interested, for he sometimes gave to a Regiment a Quarters from whence he might have got Twenty Thousand Crowns, but this without any Partiality, for Merit alone had the Ascendant with him: He, however, sometimes said, that some regard ought to be had to those that were not rich, for he was not of the Marquis *de Louvoy's* humour, who imagin'd that when a Man had Wealth he was oblig'd to spend it in the King's Service. Thus he procur'd them Advantages as well as to Others, when he was in a Capacity to do it, and all the Difference he made, is, that the Poor had ever of them the Preference when there was an Occasion to do Good. What the Viscount *de Turenne* had

had newly perform'd against the Marquis *de Brandenbourg* Equally Surpiz'd both Friends and Enemies. Those who bore us ill will endeavour'd to prevail with that Electour to take Patience; but others remonstrating to him, that considering our height of fortune, he risked much by siding against us, at length they dispos'd him to lay down Arms. Count *Beauveau De Spence*, having for some years past found a retreat with his Electoral Highness, did wonderfully well second this Design, and as this Count was Monsieur *de Turenne's* friend, he interpos'd his Offices for the bringing an Accommodation about. The Electour demanded that our Troups should be drawn from off his Territories, that we shou'd restore him *Wesel* and some other Places that were Dependances of the Duchy of *Clèves*, that appertain'd to him, and promis'd in Consideration of this to abandon the *Hollanders*: But as there was little security in his Promises, and that we were besides very glad to make him Rue what he had done, things were spun out into a Length under Sundry Pretexts, during which we made a shift to ruine the County *Vandermark* to all Intents. The Electour complain'd of this Proceedure, and seem'd to desire the Peace: But being known to Entertain Commerce with the Emperour, we requir'd such assurances of him, as he could not give, untill at length the Duke of *Newbourg*, interposing also in the Treaty, promis'd that he shou'd Execute it in good Earnest. All these Delays having thus giv'n time to our Troups to recover themselves, we agreed to leave his Countrey, and to grant him what he requir'd, on the Conditions, however, that he had the reserve of taking up Arms again, in case it tended to the Weal of the Empire, that had serv'd him for a

Pretence for what he had done. This Accommodation, which the *Hollanders* and their Allies had endeavour'd to traverse as much as lay in their Power, had matter to Surprize 'em All, so much the more, as that the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who had been seen towards *Utrecht* in the Room of the Marquis de *Rechesfort*, had Extended our Conquests by the taking of *Woerden* and of some Other Towns of the Province of *Holland*. The Enemies, to preserve the Rest, had been oblig'd to open their Sluces, which was a terrible Remedy, and having thereby put themselves into some sort of Security, the Prince of *Orange* form'd an Army of fifteen or sixteen thousand Men, to which were join'd four thousand *Spaniards* sent him by the Governour of the Low-Countries; for, in short, tho' they had hitherto been so Circumspect as to declaring themselves, it was only fear had retain'd them, and not the desire of keeping the Peace. The Prince of *Orange*, not wanting Courage, and seeing himself now in a Condition of making some Enterprize, which he had not yet been able to do since the Beginning of the War, resolv'd to attreque some Place, and having feign'd that he wou'd besiege *Narden*, he puzzel'd the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who repair'd forthwith that way wards: but the Prince of *Orange*, all of the sudden turning towards *Nerden*, he laid Siege to that Town; and drew two forts at the head of the Dykes, by which the Duke of *Luxemburg* might come to him: he lost not a moments time to put those Forts into a Posture, as well as to batter the Town briskly, and taking no Rest either day or night, his Courage, which seem'd Seconded by the Situation of the Places, put him in such a State as was free from Apprehensions, when he knew that the Duke of *Luxemburg*, notwithstanding a thousand Reasons that ought

ought to divert him from his Design, did, nevertheless, march against him. In effect, as the Prince of Orange had dexterously conceal'd his Enterprize, the Duke had had time to assemble only three thousand men, which was but a small business to go attack a Considerable Army, joyn'd to this that he cou'd advance only upon the Dikes, at the head of which, as I have newly said, two forts had been erected, & provided with Canon. However as the Duke of Luxembourg had sent the Marquis de Genlis Marchal de Camp to bring him Succours, he still persisted in his Design, and march'd directly to Cambrist, where he was afraid the Bridge might have been broken. But the enemies having not thought of that, either that they were too buisy, or that they imagin'd it to be needless, he caus'd his men to pass over it, and having made a halt to wait for the Marquis de Genlis, he was strangely Surpriz'd at his having no Tydings of him. Being afraid of engaging himself hand over head, he held a Council of War with the Colonels and Principal Officers of his Detachment, and they being for the most part young, and having more Courage than Experience, were of Opinion this notwithstanding to continue their march, so as that he jogg'd on till that being come pretty near the enemies, he caus'd the Inundation to be sounded that was on the side of the Dyke; for to go to the attacke of a Houle where the enemies had lodg'd some Infantry, and from whence they wou'd have fall'n upon the Rear of his men when they shou'd have march'd against the first fort, the Water was of necessity to be enter'd, there being no other Passage. The Water was found but three foot high or thereabouts. Thus the Duke of Luxembourg took it first, after having order'd a part of his men to advance against the Fort. This Duke did wonders of his Person, as well as

those that follow'd him, and having taken the House notwithstanding a strong Resistance, he facilitated to his Party the attack of the fort which was preceded by a mill, around which some Intrenchments had been made. Our Men drawing near them forc'd them with ease enough, so as that those that were in the Fort already trembled, as I may say, out of fear of the like Success, when the Imprudence of our Men reviv'd their Courage: Instead of making use of the Darkness which had thitherto favour'd their Enterprize, they set Fire to that Mill, which gave such Aim to the Enemies, that with their Canon which they Charg'd with Cartridges, they kill'd in a trice above two Hundred Men. Then matters began to change their Aspect, Ours gave back instead of advancing, and if the Duke of *Luxembourg* had not re-incourag'd them by his Presence all had been lost without Difficulty; but as he was very brave he Expos'd himself the first of All, and our Soldiers who wou'd have been ashamed not to follow their General, behav'd themselves so well that the Fort was won notwithstanding all the Efforts that *Zuilestein* cou'd make, he being the Prince of *Orange's* natural unckle, who was kill'd in defending it. This Action that had, perhaps, more ~~generosity~~ *generosity* than Conduct, having nevertheless sped so well, the Enemies not only abandoned the Other Fort, but also rais'd the Siege. The Prince of *Orange* drew off his Canon and his Infantry, and standing firm with his Horse, he secur'd Both. But the Duke *Luxembourg* aiming only to put Succours into the Town, wherein being come himself, he conferr'd with the Count *de la Mark*, who was Governor of it, and who had made diverse sallies wherein he had shewn much Courage. The Prince of *Orange* supported this misfortune with a Constancy as Cre-  
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ated Admiration in all People, and seeking less to Excuse himself by Words than by Actions, he resolv'd to surprize the Duke of *Duras*, who was with a flying Camp on the side of *Tongres*. For which purpose he gave out he had a Design upon that Place, and upon *Maseik*, appertaining to the Electour of *Cologne*, which oblig'd the Duke of *Duras* to send to *Mantel*, Governour of *Charleroy*, to take Care of *Tongres*, while he wou'd Watch on another side. The Prince of *Orange* to render his Design the more feasible, did at *Mastriicht* make great Provision of Shovels, and other Instruments proper to break Ground, and the *Spaniards* on their side, Acting in Concert with his Highness, tho' they had not declared War, did the same thing at *Namur*, at *Buremonde* and *Venlo*: But all of a sudden Bolting from their Garrisons, they Seiz'd on the Passes by which the Duke of *Duras* might retreat to *Charleroy*. While that the Prince of *Orange* drew near the *Meuse* to cut him off, it had been easy for the Duke of *Duras* to shut himself up in *Tongres*, or in *Maseik*; but as he cou'd not do it without famishing those Towns, he chose to retire towards *Cologne*, hoping the Prince of *Orange* wou'd leave him in Quiet, out of the fear he might be under of wanting Victualls by Pursuing him: But this Prince holding his Victory certain, pass'd the *Meuse* after having joyn'd the *Spaniards*, and pursu'd him so briskly that he compell'd him to cross the *Roer*, upon the Banks of which he would have Defeated him, if the *Spaniards*, who had the Vanguard, wou'd have march'd after having also pass'd that River; but having been of Opinion to stay for the coming up of the Rear, this gave the Duke of *Duras* time to make his Escape; and as he ruin'd all in his Passage, and that besides the Enemies began to want Provisions,

sions, they durst not Engage farther, and repass'd the *Roor*. They directed their way along the *Meuse*, as if they had been still uncertain where to let fall the Effort of their Arms: But having pass'd the River, they made a shew as if they design'd upon *Tongres*, which oblig'd *Montal* to put himself into that Place with two or three hundred men. The Prince of *Orange* knowing him penn'd up there, sent Seav'n or Eight hundred Horse around the Town to make him still believe the same thing, but repairing in all hast before *Charleroy*, he sorely afflicted *Montal*, who being Consummated in Experience, was disconsolate that he had been thus trepann'd by a Young Prince, who as yet perform'd but the Apprenticeship of his Trade. The King was no less amaz'd than *Montal*, and as the thing was of great Consequence, he let the Courtiers know, that they wou'd make their Court much better to him by resorting to the Army, than in staying, as they did, about his Person. This was sufficient to put 'em all upon the Spurr; all the Road from *Paris* to *Charleroy* was Cover'd with Persons of Condition, who to please the King scour'd to the Rendezvouz, without having had the least time to make any Equipage: On another side, *Montal* being resolv'd to perish or Re-enter his Town, departed *Tongres* at the head of a hundred Choice Cavaliers, and having march'd in the Woods, he mingl'd himself among the Enemies as they descended the *Bivao*; Insomuch that they took him to be of their Party. Thus did he continue his way without discovery, 'till that being drawn near the Town, an Advanced Guard distrusted something, which oblig'd him that Commanded it to call out the *Who goes there*: But having been only follow'd by a part of his Men, the Rest having not had time to  
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Bridle, *Montal* routed him, and got safe into the Town. There without trifling away his time in receiving the Compliments of Every Individual that wou'd have congratulated him upon his Action, he repair'd to the Rampart, where he caus'd furious Discharges to be made as well from the Canon as the Infantry ; after that he made a Sally, wherein he had some Success, so as that the Enemies having grounded their hopes, principally, upon his Absence, resolv'd to raise the Siege, having, besides, intimation that the *Mareschal de Humieres* was bringing a great Succours. The Prince of *Orange* appear'd more sensible to this Misfortune than he had done to that which had befall'n him before *Naerden*, he retreated under a great Despondency : But this notwithstanding continuing to assist the Common-wealth with his Arm and his Head, he attracted more Compassion than Contempt, which is, nevertheless, almost an inevitable Attendant of Unhappy Events.

Nothing but the Season hinder'd the *French* from attempting New Conquests, or rather the Waters which Cover'd the Surface of the Earth. The Duke of *Luxembourg*, being still at *Utrecht*, hop'd however, that if it once came to Freeze, he might by means of the Ice surprize several Posts, that were otherwise inaccessible. As the Enemies were not unacquainted with his Design, they had ever the Shovel and Pick-Ax in their hand, to precaution themselves against this Misfortune, upon the first Frost that should come ; they broke the least Ice, hoping by taking such strict Care, they shou'd render all his Measures Abortive : But it falling a Freezing all on the Suddain, it was impossible for them to repair in several days, what happen'd in one Night. This cast so great an Alarum into the Places that  
were



were the most Expos'd, that Peoples Minds were wholly set upon removing thence what they had most Precious. The Consternation spread it self to the very *Hague*, which being destitute of Walls and Defence, cou'd not otherwise Expect than a strange Delolation, if the Posts that cover'd it came to be forc'd. However, the Prince of *Orange*, who laid the Publique Miseries as much to heart as if they had only regarded him himself, had not from all this been under any Apprehensions, if his Troups by having been so often beaten had not utterly lost their Courage; for tho' the Ice seem'd to give a great Advantage to the Enemies, they wou'd however run a great risque in coming to attack him in Places well Intrench'd, and where his Highness might oppose against them, as many Men as they cou'd have. He was busy'd Day and Night, either in adding New Fortifications to those that were already made, or in Encouraging his Captains and his Soldiers: But whatever Care he took, Colonel *Pinvin* Abandon'd his Post upon the Request of the Inhabitants of *Dergau*, who sent for him to maintain their Walls, The Duke of *Luxembourg*, trusting rather to their Terror than his own Forces, Marching in the mean while, towards *Bodegrave*, and *Swammerdam*, Won both at the Point of the Sword; and as if his Action had not been sufficiently Glorious, by reason of the Little opposition he met with, he wou'd render it the more remarkable, not only by a Slaughter that was made, not only of those that were found in Arms, but likewise of all sorts of Persons, Ev'n of Women and Children. He was often heard amid the piteous Crys that Every one made to move him to Compassion, to bid his Soldiers, *No Quarter; Plunder, Kill, and Ravish*. He himself did what he said, and his

his Men, after his Example, having delug'd the streets with Rivers of Blood, entred the Houses where they Committed inconceivable Cruelties: Several Women were Violated in their Husbands Arms, several Maidens in their Fathers, and whoever went about to oppose such Criminal Excesses, was pittilessly Massacred by those Furies, who suffer'd themselves to be no longer Govern'd but by their Disorderly Passion, and by their Cruelty: They did the same thing at the Post that was to defend Colonel *Pinvin*; but not being yet content with the Mischiefs they had done, they set fire to those Places, and thus burnt all they could not carry away. Heaven to punish an almost unexampled Barbarousness, even among the most Savage Nations, sent a Thaw at the same time, and the Duke of *Luxembourg* had much ado to retreat with his Troups, that by reason of the bad Weather were forc'd to leave behind a part of their Booty. The Inhabitants of the *Hague*, who could not have avoided the like Misfortune, were thus preserv'd by a kind of Miracle, as well as that Beautious Place, for I know not whether I ought to term it a City or Village, for if the Beauty of its Houses, of its Publique Places, of its Walks, may Rank it with the most flourishing Cities, the want of Walls makes the difference so great, that it resembles neither a City nor a Village. The Duke of *Luxembourg* being retired to his Quarters, the *Hollanders* Endeavour'd to repair the Mischief he had done: But for an Example to the Officers, they caus'd Colonel *Pinvin's* Process to be drawn up, who was Sentenc'd to be Beheaded. In the mean while, the *German* Princes seeing the Danger this Common-Wealth was in, resolv'd to give it Succours, and Allow'd it not only to make Leavyes

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in their Dominions, but did the like themselves for the making some Diversion in its favour. On another side the Diet of *Ratisbonne* after having been along while assembled at the Emperours Requisition, who complain'd that *His Most Christian Majesty*, had Committed divers Hostilities in the Empire, at length declared the taking up Arms to be necessary for the Publique Security, so as that the Generality having so fair a Pretext to Cover their jealousy, resolv'd to declare War against us. Thus the *Palgrave*, and the Duke of *Newbourg* prepar'd to turn their Backs upon us; the Electour of *Cologne*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, being threatned with being put into the Ban of the Empire, if they persisted in our Assurances, had also the same Design: But as they could not Execute it without hazarding much by reason of the Dependancy they were under, they Surceas'd it till a more favourable time serv'd. The *Spaniards*, by reason of the bad Success they had had, had rejected all that had hitherto occur'd upon the Governour of the Low-Countries, seeing we were going to have a good part of *Europe* upon our hands, no longer feign'd to declare open War against us, and after having drawn up a Manifest, they put Troupes into *Mastricht*, with which Place in all likelihood the King wou'd begin his Campaign. The King, seeing so much Business on all sides, endeavour'd to remedy it with his wonted Prudence, he caus'd New Troupes forthwith to march, with orders to the Officers to repair with all possible haste to the Rendezvouze: And having held a Council of War with the Prince of *Conde*, and the Viscount de *Turenne*, he made five or six Bodys of Armies, which he caus'd to march where there was Occasion. The Marquis de *Louvois* thro whose fault all this Perplexity happen'd, was oblig'd

to careſs the Principal Officers, in whole hands he ſaw his fortune; for he had reaſon to fear that upon the leaſt Reverse the King wou'd make him Expiate by his Diſgrace ſo many bad Councils he had giv'n his Maſteſty: Among thoſe he did not forget the Viſcount *de Turenne*, who was intruſted with the Conduct of the Army that was to march into *Germany*. This Prince receiv'd his Compliments without manifeſting to him either too much Arro-gance, or too much Baſeneſs, and having liſten'd to all he was minded to tell him, he made him answer, that he knew as well as any Other to acknowledge the Zeal wherewith he ſerv'd the King, but that he ought to be perſuaded that others had no leſs than himſelf; that he told him this to mind him, that he ought not to make his Court ſometimes at the Expence of thoſe that were Abſent, becauſe they had to do with ſo Sagacious a Prince, as not to be eaſily impos'd upon. He made him this Re-proach on the ſcore of ſome Diſcourſes he had held to the King, by which he had endeavour'd, to do him a Diſſervice with his Maſteſty: But the Mar-quis *de Louvoy*, having feign'd he did not apprehend with what Deſign he ſpoke in this manner, the Reſt of their Converſation paſſ'd in Aſſurances of Service on his Part, and in ſome Civilities from the Viſcount *de Turenne*.

In the mean while, the *Hollanders* ſeeing the King made Great Preparations for a Siege, and not doubting but that his Aim lay upon *Maſtricht*, they were at a loſs to find out one to put into the Go-vernours Room, who was Dead after a fit of ſick-neſs. The *Spaniards* offer'd them *Farian*, a Brave Man that had been all his Life long in their Service, wherein he had acquired ſome fame: And his Per-ſon was ſo much the more agreeable to them in that

that he was of a Religion conformable to that of most of the Inhabitants; they sent him his Commission, with Orders to the Garrison to own him. *Farian* being in the Town found it Convenient to make some New Fortifications, but having converted to his own Profit part of the Money he receiv'd for that purpose, the Inhabitants lost the Esteem they conceiv'd from his Reputation; Insomuch that they began to desire the Kings coming, under whose Sway they hop'd to enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion, as well as of several other Advantages: For besides a thousand advantageous things they had heard of his Person, wherein certainly fame was no Liar, they were invited to be under his Obedience by the Lustre that had appear'd in all his Court, when that he came into their Neighbourhood. Thus they hop'd to partake in that Greatness, which is, nevertheless, but imaginary in the mind of the People, since certain it is that this Grandeur being only Atchiev'd at their Costs, 'tis rather the means to render them Unhappy, than to make them find the felicity where-with they sooth this Phancies. Be it as it will, such was the Disposition of the Inhabitants of *Mastricht* when the King arriv'd before its Walls: For as it was a Siege of Renown, he wou'd perform it himself. The Prince of *Orange* was far from suffering such an Occasion as that to Slip without endeavouring to signalize his Bravery and Conduct; but thinking it Expedient to suffer the Kings Army to consume, he press'd not much, hoping that the Place would hold out time sufficient to afford him that of relieving it: The Generality were of the same Opinion, which they built on the strength of the Outworks, and the Governours Repute. The King being not Ignorant of his Highness's hopes, took

took in the mean while all his Precautions, and as he was perfectly well serv'd, the Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation were not only quickly finish'd, but Batteries were also rais'd, of which that of *Montal* having Eighteen pieces of Canon did much incommode the Besieged; for according as they made Sallys it batter'd them in the flank, & made such a Disorder in their Ranks that they knew not where to put themselves under shelter. In the mean while the Trenches were open'd, and the Works having been push'd-on with a wonderful diligence, the King caus'd the Out-works to be attack'd by his Musketers, who carry'd a Work with ease enough: but these Youths being more proper to fall-on than Defend, they were in like manner repuls'd. *Artagnan* who Commanded them, was kill'd in this occasion, whom the King very much lamented; for besides, that his Services merited that a great regard shou'd be had for his Person, he was one of the best-bred men living. The Duke of *Monmouth* having charg'd himself with this Attacque, and in it Conspicuously distinguish'd his Gallantry, being resolv'd to perish in't or to come off with Honour, demanded new Troups of the King, and his Majesty having granted his request, the Musketers represented to his Majesty that it was blasting their Honour to Command others in their room; that if he wou'd Command them again to the Assault, they were absolutely resolv'd to take the Work again, or Dye in the Attempt: but the King being minded to preserve them for a better occasion, being not to be wrought upon, the Commanded men march'd, and effected their Design. This Success was quickly follow'd with the taking of another Work, wherein *Farian* having thro' overmuch Precipitation, caus'd a Mine to play,

play, his own Men were blown-up instead of ours; This lessen'd his esteem among his own Party, and particularly among the Inhabitants, who held divers meetings to oblige him to Surrender; All the Priests that were in the Town repaired to them with a great Number of Women, and their Design being come to *Favian's* Knowledge, he was at a great loss how to remedy it. In the Interim, the Town was thrice set on fire, which still augmented his Distrust, so as that being as much afraid of those within, as those without, he demanded to Capitulate. The Prince of *Orange*, having found more Obstacles than he Expected in Conducting of the Succours, coming acquainted with this News, was much startled; for as he had been Newly Promoted to the Charge of *Stadtholder*, and Lord High-Admiral, and that in a Word he was more Powerfull than had been any of his Predecessors; He was afraid lest this Event might lose him the Affection of the People, by whole suffrage he had attain'd to this Greatness.

The King, after having repair'd *Mastricht*, wou'd have carry'd his Arms into the other Places of *Holland's Brabant*, if the Enemies had not let loose their Sluces; but the Water being all around, the King cou'd not do otherwise than march another way. And as Occurrences in *Germany* made him uneasy, he drew near the Frontier, as well to oblige the People of *Strasbourg* not to favour the Arms of his Enemies, as to shew himself in *Lorraine*, where his Presence was necessary. And indeed Every Individual being Excited by the Love he bore his Sovereign, contriv'd to affranchize himself from a Sway that was very Different from that he had Experienc'd under his Majesty; for there was more to do to satisfy the Intendants, than there was to satisfy

satisfy the King, and they most commonly made use of their Authority to the Ruine of the People, who were in Despair to see that those who were to use all means for their Protection, contributed most to render them Miserable. The King after having given order on that side, enter'd *Alsace*. The Inhabitants of *Strasbourg* being Engag'd thro' their own Inclination, and a thousand Other Reasons, to declare themselves in favour of the Enemies, giving his Majesty only fair words; he caus'd an Arch of their Bridge to be burnt, wherein however, he us'd more Cunning than Strength, for having caus'd some Carpenters to be Embark'd at *Brisac* with a small Number of Soldiers, the thing was sooner known to be done then the Design suspected: *Strasbourg*, that was wont to enjoy Peace, finding by this Hostility how prejudicial it would be for it to engage in the present Motions, the more willingly listen'd to the Kings Proposals, and fear bringing them to all manner of Compliance, the King thought himself secure since that Town did not declare it self against his Majesty. In the mean while he omitted nothing for the putting *Alsace* in a Posture of Defence, whither he did not doubt but that the Emperour wou'd endeavour to carry his Arms. On another side to wreak his Revenge on the *Spaniards*, he backt the Revolt of the Marquis de *Metimieux*, one of the Principal Lords of the *Franche Comté*, who hop'd that all the Nobles wou'd take his Part: but his Pretensions not prevailing, he was oblig'd to retire into *France*, he and his Family. The King gave a Regiment of Dragoons to the Marquis de *Lissey*, one of his Sons, and this Young Lord behav'd himself extremely well in all the occasions he was present at, insomuch that he wou'd have

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made his Fortune, if he had not been Kill'd in a Conflict two or three Years after. In the mean while the Viscount *de Turenne*, after having provided for *Philipsbourg* which seem'd the most in Danger, pass'd the *Rhin*, and having retain'd by his Presence a number of Princes that were upon the point of Declaring themselves, he spread such a Consternation where-ever he bent his March, that those that had already taken Arms durst not advance very far. They sent Deputies to him from all sides to demand safeguards of him, and it was a wonder to see that those who had threatned so loud some few days before, were oblig'd by the Neighbourhood of this Great Man to have recourse to Entreaties and Submissions. Thus the Electour Palatin, tho' he had already made his Treaty with the Enemies, durst not divulge it, nor durst the Bishop of *Wirbourg* and some others. However as the Viscount *de Turenne* was too illuminated to miss of prying into their Designs, he press'd the Court to allow him to reduce them by Arms, which the Marquis *de Louvoy* oppos'd, still pretending that he cou'd draw 'em o'er to the Kings Party by the means of Negotiations and Treaties. However to make them sensible of the Kings Power, the Viscount *de Turenne* had leave to enter their Territories; but being forbidden Sieges, this only serv'd to provoke those Princes, whom it behoov'd more or less to manage. The Marquis *de Brandenburg* seeking only a Pretence to take the Field again, complain'd of these Hostilities which disturb'd the repose of the Empire, and as his Troups were a Burden to his Electoral Highness, in time of Peace, he was very glad we afforded him this means to break the Treaty above-mention'd. The Emperour on his side caus'd his Army  
to

to March, and the Viscount *de Turenne* not being able to oppose such an Inundation as that, withdrew towards the *Rhin*, where he to no purpose waited for Succours: For tho' this Storm had been long afore in ken, the Marquis *de Louvoy* could never resolve upon abandoning an infinite number of Places, wherein were above Forty Thousand Men in Garrison; so as that without considering that this was it that had ruin'd the *Hollanders*, he persisted in the Design of keeping them. The Marquis *de Louvoy* seeing Peace was no longer to be expected, caus'd *Trier* to be attack'd, which held out three Weeks, by reason of the Incapacity of those he sent before it. In the mean while the *Spaniards* to draw-off the Prince of *Condé*, who was about *Utrecht*, that the Prince of *Orange* might execute an Enterprize he had upon *Nacden*, made a shew as if they wou'd oppose the Passage of some *English* Forces that Landed in one of our Ports; and, having sped in their Design, the Prince of *Orange* Besieg'd *Nacden*, which he press'd so briskly, that he made himself Master of it, before the Town cou'd receive Relief. As we were not wont to suffer Losses, we were willing to reject this bad event upon the Governour, who was clapt into Prison, and his Process made. In the mean while there was no talk yet of abandoning the Places, so great was the obstinacy; which gave the Prince of *Orange* means to March against the City of *Bon*, which the Electour of *Cologne* had remitted into our hands. This Prince having there Confer'd with *Montecuculi*, who Commanded the Emperours Troups, this later made head against the Succours that might offer it self, while the former besieg'd the Town, where the Count *de Koningmark*, Lieutenant General of his Army was Kill'd: But

whatever Vigorous Defence was made by the Besieged, this having not hindred the Besiegers from becoming Masters of the Town; then was it that the Marquis de Louvois perceiv'd, but a little too late, the necessity there was of abandoning so many needless places. The thing at length having been resolv'd on, the Court signify'd it's Resolutions to the Duke of Luxembourg that he might draw-off his Troups: But as Parsimony and Gripping had the Ascendant at Court as well as o'er that Dukes temper, who had in all things ever manifested much self-Interest, he oblig'd the Towns to give him Money, and having in all this, lost much time, the Prince of Orange had leisure to intercept his way, so that if we had not come-in to his Succours, either he wou'd have been oblig'd to fight with unequal Forces and in a disadvantageous Post, or wou'd have Perish'd for want of Victuals. Of so many places we only retain'd the City of *Maestricht*, and that of *Graves*, both upon the *Meuse*, and of an extreme importance, by reason of their situation, and of the Contributions that might be exacted by their means. However the Generality murmur'd that this had been so long deferr'd, and the Viscount de Turenne more than others, who had by this means been oblig'd to retreat. The Marquis de Louvois to appease him, promis'd that he should be thenceforward distinguish'd from all others, which he had often the hopes given him of without effect; for tho' that the King had Created on purpose in his favour the Charge of Marechal General of his Camps and Armies, this was a Dignity which subsisted rather in th'Imagination than in Reality: For the Ministers that they might not give any body Discontent, had never sent a Marechal of France with

with him: Thus he had never seen himself in a condition to enjoy the advantages of that Charge. Nevertheless the Marquis de *Louvois* kept his word with him this time, and the Mareschals de *Craqui* and *Humières*, having been Commanded to Serve in his Army, they repair'd thither, but refus'd to obey him, which occasion'd their being Exil'd. Tho' the Viscount de *Turenne* had reason to Complain of them, and particularly of the Mareschal de *Humières*, to whose Fortune he had no been ill friend, as I have already said, he would not however be the Cause of their Disgrace. Thus having himself desir'd the King to recall them, he shew'd that the goodness of his temper did not allow him to do any body harm. The King answer'd him several times, that it was not his business but his own, for he did not willingly Pardon Disobedience: But this not making the Viscount de *Turenne* desist, he persecuted him in such manner, that he could not at length refuse him what he demanded of his Majesty. In the mean while some hopes there were of Peace, by the divers Glimmerings that had appear'd of it. The Marquis de *Grana* being at *Cologne* the better to Cut-off all hopes of the Peace then there in agitation, seiz'd on some Money the King had there, and caus'd Prince *William of Furstemberg* to be kidnapt, being a *German* by Nation, but who had abandon'd the Interests of his own Country to espouse the Adverse Party: By this means and by that of the Bishop of *Strasbourg* his Brother, had the King attracted the Electour of *Cologne* to his side; and to render the Marquis de *Grana's* Action odious to all Good People, *France* proclaim'd it, as it was true, to be contrary to the Right of Nations; for Prince *William* was at *Cologne*, on the behalf of this Electour, and ought

to be consider'd as a Publique Person. Nevertheless whatever noise the King made, he was convey'd to *Neustad* where they talk'd ev'n of making his Process, as a man that had betray'd his Countrey. But the King taking this Affair to Heart Protested that if any Person of Consideration fell into his hands, he should be treated in like manner as the Emperour shou'd use that Prince : Thus for fear of Reprisals all his Punishment lay in a harsh Captivity. The King did what he cou'd to have him releas'd ; but the Emperour shewing himself inexorable, the Assembly of *Cologne* was broken, insomuch that His Most *Christian* Majesty press'd the King of *Sueden* to lay aside the Quality of Mediator, to take up another, from whence he might derive more Advantage. And indeed his Majesty needed Succours in the Present State of things ; for *England* having granted a Peace to *Holland* ; the Most *Christian* King was then in great Perplexity ; For the *Hollanders*, who were much more Potent than he at Sea, prepar'd to enter *France* by the Coasts of *Normandy* and *Brittany*, so as that the King was constrain'd to cause the Ban and Arriere-ban to advance. The *Spaniards*, pretending to derive great Advantages if this prosper'd, treated with the Chevalier de *Rohan*, who promis'd them to deliver them *Quillebauf* by the means of the Intelligences he had in *Normandy*, and they, suffering themselves to be amused by his Promises, gave him a great deal of Money, as well as to *La Tremont*, whom he had intrusted with his Secret. The Chevalier de *Rohan* was a Man of Great Quality, but of a very mean Credit ; He had never had any considerable Martial Employment, not that he wanted Courage, but because his Intellectuals were not over-sound ; he had spent

spent the better part of his fortune, so that not knowing where to put his head, no more than *La Treauumont* who had in like manner Squander'd away all he had, they both sought the means of Supplying to their Debaucheries, and the *Spaniards* having been so Credulous as to put Credence in their Promises, the *Hollanders*, to whom they had imparted this Intrigue, put to Sea, to see what might be hop'd for from it: But the *Chevalier de Rohan* having not sufficient Credit to procure so much as one Village to rise, they quitted the Coasts of *Normandy* to try if they could speed better in *Brittany*, where however they had not any Correspondence. Being near the Isle of *Rhé*, a Ship Arriv'd from the *Indies*, and was so fortunate to scape them, the Enemies being on one side, while on the Other it put into the Port of *Rochelle*. In the mean while the King having got the Wind of the *Chevalier de Rohan's* Treason, his Majesty sent *Brissac*, Major of the *Gardes du Corps*, to *Rouen* to secure *La-Treauumont*, and had the *Chevalier de Rohan* taken up at *Saint-Germain*. *Brissac* being come into the Town, went to *La Treauumont's* Lodging whom he found in Bed, and having shewn him his Commission, he suffer'd him as he was his friend, to go into his Closet, where *La-Treauumont* said he went to fetch something: But having seiz'd a Pistol, he Clapt it to *Brissac's* Cheek, who having bid him fire, two *Gardes du Corps* that were with him thinking that he spoke to them, Discharg'd their Pieces, and wounded *La-Treauumont*, of which he dy'd on the Morrow-Morning. As he had been the Person that had Manag'd all this Intrigue, the King was much vex'd at the fault *Brissac* had Committed, in suffering him to go into his Closet, and it was believ'd this would have Occasion'd his Disgrace: But the King  
having

having pardon'd him upon the Account of the Services he had done him in Other Occasions, the *Chevalier de Rohan* was Committed to the *Bastille*, with the *Chevalier de Preaux*, the *Marchioness de Villars* and a School-Master that were impeach'd of the same Crime. Commissioners were forthwith appointed for their Tryal, who were much to seek, for there was not any Proof against any of the Parties; for which reason the *Chevalier de Rohan's* friends, went Every Night around the *Bastille*, crying out aloud, *La Traumont* is Dead, that so as he only cou'd Charge him, he might thereby apprehend that he shou'd retrench himself to, and stand upon the Negative; but being too far off to hear any thing, he cou'd not make use of this Advertisment as might have been wished for his Good. In the mean while, the Commissioners, who were Counsellors of State, having represented to him at sundry times, that the only means to soften and prevail with the King, was to have recourse to his Mercy, that they brought him insensibly to fall into the Snare, under the Assurances, nevertheless, which one of those Commissioners gave him of his Pardon; but he had no sooner got his Secret, than that he went to tell it to the King, who commanded the Proceeding on to the Judgment of his Process; He was Condemn'd to lose his Head as well as his Accomplices, bating however the School-Master, who was Hang'd. As soon as the Sentence was pass'd, he had a Glass taken from him, wherein he drunk, as also a Knife he made use of at Table, and asking the Reason of it, perceiving that instead of giving him an answer, his Guards cast down their heads, he suspected his Misfortune, and inquir'd into the matter. He was but too soon inform'd how the Case stood. However having re-

ceiv'd

ceiv'd this Blow with much Constancy, he desir'd  
 he might have sent him Father *Bourdalone* the Je-  
 suite, who brought him to think of dying. Tho'  
 his Relations were of the first Persons about the  
 Court, not one durst ask his Pardon of the King, so  
 true it is that real friends are only to be known at  
 a pinch, and in Necessity. Thus being by all the  
 World forsaken, he was led to Execution, which  
 instead of being perform'd in the usuall Place, was  
 done in the *Bastille*, where three Scaffolds were rais'd  
 with a Gallows. Thus dy'd the Chevalier *de Rohan*,  
 who had been *Grand Veneur*, and had spent part of  
 his Youth in Debauchery: but his misfortune, that  
 happen'd in the flow'r of his Age, joyn'd to a  
 Majestique Deportment, and some other good Qua-  
 lities he had in him, having caus'd his Infirmities to  
 be forgotten, he was unquestionably, more pittied  
 than he wou'd have been, had he dy'd in his Bed.  
 The King had formerly shewn him some good Will;  
 but had hated him Extremely of late years, because  
 that upon playing with him, and winning his Ma-  
 jesties Money, the Chevalier *de Rohan* threw four or  
 five hundred Pistols out of the Window, upon the  
 Kings having return'd 'em upon his hands, saying,  
 they had agreed before they had begun to play, to  
 pay one another only in Golden *Lewisses*. Since that  
 time the Chevalier *de Rohan*, without being retain'd  
 by the Respect he ow'd the King, had held  
 such Insolent Discourses of his Majesty, that they  
 merited Punishment; for this Reason did many  
 People believe that Naturally he was not over-  
 Wise, wherein he resembled his Eldest Brother,  
 for he had been Cag'd for his Extravagancy, and  
 thus the Younger Bother's Behaviour was attributed  
 only to an Infirmity of Nature, tho' for the most  
 part it ought to have been attributed only to his  
 Resentment.



**Resentment.** In the Interim the Enemies, who upon the Account of this Intrigue had sooth'd themselves with some happy Events, having found how far they were from this hopes, turn'd their Arms, as I have said before, against *Brittany*, where after having made a Descent, they were forc'd to retire. In the mean while, His *Most Christian Majesty*, notwithstanding the King of *England*, had Abandon'd him, and that his Other Allies not content with having done the same, had likewise sided against him, he nevertheless harbour'd new Conquests in his Mind. For this purpose he march'd against the *Franch-Comté*, a Province from whence the Enemies might have derived Great Advantages, wou'd they have taken the Duke of *Lorrains* Advice, who Counsell'd 'em to fix there the Seat of the War. He represented to them that they might from thence easily enter into *Burgundy*, and pass perhaps into the Remotest Provinces of *France*, where there were Malecontents enough to Expect they wou'd rather favour the Success of their Arms, than oppose them. The King, thro' the fear he was under this Advice wou'd be follow'd, had propos'd, by the *Suisses* Intercession, the Neutrality for that Province; but the Enemies by no means agreeing to it, the King improv'd this Refusal to the gaining o're the *Suisses*, among whom he Insinuated, that the Hostilities would spread themselves to their very Doors, if the War once drew near *la Comté*. Having thus prepossess'd their minds, he gain'd o're their Principal Men by the means of his Money, and these having brought the Others to a Compliance to bar the Enemies the Passages, the King repair'd into the *Comté*, where he laid Siege to the Principal Places. The Duke of *Lorrain*, who had taken upon himself to have an Eye to the Conservation of that

that Province, did what he could to make the *Suizars* Change their Opinion, to whom he plainly demonstra ed, that if they suffer'd this Conquest, it was themselves labouring to the loss of their Liberty; but not being able in any wise to bring them to his Bow, he was oblig'd to stop, so much the more as that the Viscount *de Turenne* was got near him to oppose his Passage. Thus the King having not found any Difficulty in his Enterprize, finisht it in a short time, and without undergoing any Considerable loss.

The taking of *la Comté* had wherewithall to startle the Enemies; however as they built great hopes on their Army in *Germany*, which was to be Compos'd of the Emperours forces, of those of the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, of those of the Princes of the House of *Brunswick* and of sundry Others, they were not the more inclin'd to make Peace. The King to oppose so formidable an Army, sent some Succours to the Viscount *de Turenne*; but as he had not Troups sufficient to resist on all sides, the King Summon'd the Bar & Arrier-bar of his Realm, which quite ruin'd the nobles, that were already much distress'd; the service he deriv'd from them was so inconsiderable, that the year following he chose rather they shou'd give mony than serve themselves; for which reason the siefs were tax'd in proportion to the Revenue, which made many Gentlemen Clamour; but they were all so Low, that whatever Disposition they had to Revolt, Indigency was the Cause that not one durst give any tokens of his ill-will. In the mean while all the World was amaz'd at the taking of *La Comté*, at a time when the King seem'd to have so much business upon his hands: but his Conduct being Seconded with his good fortune free'd him from all things with advantage: In effect about that time was it that the

*Messinezes,*

*Aleffinez* revolted, which hinder'd the *Spaniards* from availing themselves of a victory they gain'd in *Roussillon*. As they had sent Troups thither, the King had caus'd the Count *de Schomberg* to march that waywards, a Captain that had acquir'd great fame wherever he had serv'd, and principally in *Portugal*: but his presence having not hinder'd the enemies from Seizing on the Castle of *Bellegrade*, they were masters of the passage of *Roussillon*. After this from *Catalonia* they receiv'd as much victuals as they desir'd, which made them resolve to encamp on this side the *Pyrenees*. They plac'd the Head-Quarters at *Morillas*, and the Marshal *Schomberg*, being posted at *San Juan de Pages*, nothing now but the River of *Boullon* separated the two Armies. This River was fordable in several places, so as that we dayly expected the Enemies to pass it to march against *Perpignan*, where we had discover'd the Winter afore that they kept some Correspondencies. But as there was no coming to one another without Engaging themselves in Great Defile's, each side remain'd above three weeks in it's Camp, without stirring, and though so very near, all ended in some Musket-shots, which the Outgards fir'd upon one another, the River being between Both. The Count *de Schomberg* caus'd his Camp to be fortify'd, as also the enemies did theirs, which dayly occasion'd new Difficulties in the Design each Patty foster'd: *Mr de Schomberg* was much stronger in men then the *Spaniards*; but the latter had much more experience; for properly speaking *Mr. de Schomberg* had only with him the Militia, saving two or three Regiments, for as to the Others, they were new Leavies, joyn'd to this, that his principal forces consisted in the Militia of *Languedoc*, amounting at least to eight thousand men. This render'd him reserv'd and wary in his undertakings, besides he had no great Confidence in

*Mr.*

*Mr. le Bret*, who commanded the Army under him; for this latter being jealous that he was not entrusted with the Command of the Troups in Chief, which he had before the Arrival of *Mr. de Schomberg*, wou'd willingly have suffer'd himself to have been beaten, meerly to spite the Marschal, which *Mr. de Schomberg* had perceiv'd in two or three Occasions.

Thus stood matters when the Duke *de St. Germain*, who commanded the *Spaniards*, made use of a stratagem to engage *Mr. de Schomberg* in some false step; he sent to tell him, but without declaring that this came from him, that he was retreating into *Catalonia*. The *Baillif of Ceret*, a small Town at the foot of the *Pirenees* was the Person he made use of in this Occasion, and this later being come to tell this news to *Mr. de Schomberg*, colour'd it with several things which render'd it the more probable; Insomuch that he gave the Army order to stand to their Arms at break of Day: But he not having been able to rise so early by reason of some indisposition, *Mr. le Bret* thinking to have all the honour of that Day, caus'd the Horse to pass the River without staying for his Orders, and the enemies Guard having notice to give way, he imprudently engag'd in floods, on whose banks he found Infantry that gave him the entertainment of their Muskets. As that was not a place for his Horse to fight in, he was at a great plunge how to make his Retreat, and lost a great many men: But *Mr de Schomberg* being come up with the foot, the Disorder was not altogether so great, though still many fled away as far as *Perpignan*. The Militia of *Languedoc* was of this number, as well as sundry new Regiments, which made *Monsieur de Schomberg* fear he might receive some greater Rout; But the enemies resting satisfy'd with having dispers'd his Army, repass'd the River after having kill'd twelve or fifteen hundred men, and taken many

many Prisoners ; *Monsieur de Schomberg's* Son was of this Number, and he was carried to *Barcelona* with *Monsieur de la Rabbriere*, who commanded our Horse. The Enemies Design was after this to go besiege *Conillonre*, which they had infallibly taken in thro' the Disorder we were in, if the Revolt of *Messina* had not oblig'd them to repass the *Pirenees*, and go Embark in *Catalonia*, the same Ships which they had design'd for the Siege of *Conillonrs* serv'd them for this Enterprize, which was of an Extreme Consequence to them, for the Other Towns of *Sicily* were already Wavering, besides that the Kingdom of *Naples* seem'd more enclin'd to revolt, than to contain its self in its Duty.

In the mean while, the *Messinezes* having perceiv'd but too late, how difficult a thing it is to cast off the Yoke of one's Sovereign, were oblig'd to send to the King to beseech him that he wou'd be pleas'd to send them Succours. The King was far from denying them ; and as he was in hopes of great Advantages from this Revolt, their Deputies were promis'd they should have Men and Provisions forthwith sent them, having equally need of Both. At that time, did the King stand possess'd of a Marvelous Reputation : For besides, the Conquests he had newly made, the Viscount de *Tirennie* had found means not only to stop the *Germanis*, but also to make them repass the *Rhin*, they repairing upon that River without any Difficulty. All the Princes that had embrac'd Our Party, had abandon'd us, as has been said afore, and what is Extraordinary, we had not any more Cruel Enemies than those very People that Excited us to the War. But among all Others the Prince *Palatine* made himself remarkable thro' the hatred he bore us, either that he thought he had reason for so doing,  
on

on the account of the little Consideration, he said; we had had for his Electoral Highness in divers Rencounters, or that being more expos'd to our Arms, the Mischiefe we did him render'd his sentiments the more Violent. Be it as it will, as he had a Vast Wit, he so well gained all the Princes, that the most part of 'em Acted only by his Movements. However tho' the Main Cause of his Renouncing our Party was the hopes he had given him of Besieging *Philipbourg*, whose Garrison desolated his Petty Dominions; yet could not he oblige the Emperour to keep his Word with him: for as that Place was strong of it self, and that besides all manner of Art; and the utmost Industry had been employ'd to render it impregnable, the Emperour was afraid of losing his time before such a Fastness, for which reason he chose rather that a part of his Army should march for *Luxembourg* so to advance upon the *Meuse*, while the rest shou'd direct it's way to the *Rhin*. The Detachment design'd for the *Meuse* having pass'd without any Obstacle, entred *Flanders*, and joyn'd the Prince of *Orange*, under the Command of the Count de *Souches*. The rest pass'd into the *Palatinate* under the Orders of the Duke of *Lorraine* and Count *Caprar*; But as they were to be suddenly follow'd by the Duke of *Bourbonville*, the Marquis of *Brandenbourg* and the Princes of *Brunswick*, the Duke and Count were only to be entrusted with the Command 'till their Arrival: For this reason had *Montecuculi*, an Old and Crafty Captain, desir'd the Emperour to dispense him from coming that Year upon the *Rhin*; for as he wou'd have been likewise oblig'd to obey, he consider'd that the Honour of the Good Success wou'd redound to the Marquis de *Brandenbourg*, to whom the Command was to be

giv'n up; and that, on the Contrary, if thing  
 sped ill, he wou'd be tax'd, as a Person that ha-  
 ving more Experience ought to regulate all by his  
 Councils. Besides these two Armies that were Nu-  
 merous, the Enemies made still flying Camps on Se-  
 veral sides, One of which *Rabenhaut* Commanding at-  
 tack'd *Graves*, a Place whence we too much gall'd  
 the Enemies for them to forbear endeavouring to  
 take it from us. As it was the most Expos'd, we  
 had not fail'd to provide it in due manner; thus  
*Rabenhaut* not meeting there the facilities he had  
 Expected, Chang'd, as I may say, his Siege into a  
 Bloccade, that is, he thought much more of saving  
 his Men than of Exposing them; for he hop'd that  
 having two Armies of his Party upon their Wings  
 as strong as were those of the Duke of *Bournon-  
 ville* and the Prince of *Orange*, they wou'd quickly  
 have so favourable a Success, that they wou'd be in  
 a Condition to relieve him. As the Viscount de *Tu-  
 renne* plainly foresaw all this, he wou'd not give  
 the Enemies time still to encrease, and as they every  
 Moment expected the Duke of *Bournoville* without  
 reckoning the Troups of *Brunswick* and of *Brand-  
 enbourg*, he resolv'd to give them Battle before all  
 these Succours were arriv'd. The Duke of *Lorrain*  
 and *Caprava*, were Men of too much ability to con-  
 curr to his Design; wherefore they no sooner suspect-  
 ed it but that they contriv'd to elude it by a speedy  
 Retreat. And this was indeed the only means to  
 prevent the Purpose. But the Viscount de *Turenne*  
 having made as much way in Six days space as  
 they had done in Twelve, oblig'd them to face about  
 at *Saintzaim*, from whence they pretended to reach  
*Wampham* or *Hailbron* to pass the *Nekre*. They were  
 Surpriz'd at this Diligence, so much the more as  
 that they had left some Garrisons on his Passage,  
 which

which they thought must have stop'd him. But the Viscount having foreseen that this might make him miss of his Enterprize, did not spend his time on them, well knowing that they wou'd quickly be oblig'd to surrender if he cou'd but gain the Victory. However tho' that *Seintzeim*, where the Enemies Infantry was inrench'd, was no more than a Village, that is to say, tho' it had not any fortifications, yet did it; nevertheless, give them a great Advantage; it shelter'd their Horse, posted beyond it upon a Mountain, of so Difficult Access, that there was no coming at it but by *Defiles*, and these too in a very small Number, for the way was fac'd with hedges and Vineyards, and broaden'd gradually as you grew near, so as that when we should have taken the Town, they had still the Advantage of a large Front, which is considerable for the winning of a Battle. The Viscount *de Turenne*, having been long acquainted with the ground, was not daunted by these Difficulties, but caus'd his Army to file off along the way of *Wisloc*, and not doubting but that the Enemies had lin'd the hedges near the Town with Infantry, he sent Dragoons thither, that dislodg'd them thence; they forthwith retreated with the Rest of the Garrison, and with it making fire, they for some time kept our Dragoons in Awe: But the Viscount *de Turenne* having caus'd them to be sustain'd by the Infantry, the Enemies durst no longer shew their heads, and firing thenceforward only at Rovers, and much higher than was requisite, our Men advanc'd to the very foot of the Walls, and sought to force some Gate or Other. The Cavalier *d'Hocquincourt*, a son of the late Marechal of that Name, whom we have heretofore mention'd, that was a Colonel of the Queen's Dragoons, having found one where they



had not had time to lay Dung, as they had done to the Rest, had it Cutt and Burst open, and seeing that the Enemies throng'd from all sides to drive him back, he was afraid of being overwhelm'd with the Multitude, and Caus'd his Men to enter the Houses on the Right and Left, which he caus'd immediately to be boar'd: He from thence not only stopp'd them, but gave also time to those that follow'd him to enter the Town, so as that the Enemies seeing they cou'd resist no longer, retired to their Cavalry. The Town being taken in this manner, the Viscount *de Turenne* caus'd on his side some Bridges to be laid over a River ; which render'd the way impracticable for the Horse, nay, and for the very foot ; for it reaches round a kind of Mocrass, which even in the greatest heats of Summer, renders the ground so soft, that those of the Place are oblig'd to seek Paths : He caus'd his foot to pass o're these Bridges, for he was afraid lest they shou'd break under the Cavalry, for which reason it fil'd thro' the Town. The Enemies prepar'd to receive us, and had put Foot and Dragoons into the Vineyards and Places that were most favourable to them, which oblig'd the Viscount *de Turenne* to Post Infantry upon a Hill, that stood a little beyond *Seintzeim*, from whence it fir'd upon that of the Enemies : But it suffer'd much from their Canon, that was plac'd to advantage, and hardly made one useles shot. As there was no Advancing the Cavalry without its Succours, there was a Necessity of leaving it there, and according as our Squadrons drew near, the Viscount *de Turenne* had them follow'd with Balls, which serv'd them extremely. The Enemies Horse had 'till then contented themselves with beholding all that was done ; yet by their Countenance manifested they only waited Orders

to March: In effect being not willing to give ours time to form a larger Front, it Charg'd us Vigorously, and put us in Disorder. *Saint Abre*, a Lieutenant General that was at our Head, was Mortally Wounded in this Occasion, which still augmented our Disorder, so as that without the Infantry, which had drove away that of the Enemies out of the Vineyards, and fir'd continually, it had been impossible for us to rally. The Viscount *de Turenne*, who after such fair beginnings was in Despair to see his Cavalry so hardly us'd, went nevertheless from rank to rank, to exhort them to do better in a Second Charge that was preparing: But the Enemies being Arm'd, Breast and Back, and having besides each a Crescent in his Hat, having to do with People that were stark naked, put us into so ill a condition, that they thought we should never have rally'd: And, indeed, our Disorder was extraordinary, and if the Infantry had not stopp'd the Enemies Cavalry by an almost unexampled Bravery, ours were not only ready to betake themselves to flight, but we shou'd also have quickly abandon'd *Sautzeim*. Thus the Enemies having not been able to improve the advantage, they might in all likelyhood have expected from those two Charges, retreated slowly, thinking that ours wou'd venture to follow them without the help of the Infantry: But the Viscount *de Turenne*, who had found to his great Regret the Difference there was between his Cavalry and theirs, wou'd not suffer it to budge a step without it: Insomuch that tho' they still fir'd briskly, we durst not mingle on either side. What may be said of this Occasion, is, that the Enemies Horse sav'd their Infantry, and that our Infantry sav'd our Horse. After this the Enemies advanc'd towards

the *Nekre*, which they pass'd to go meet the Duke of *Bournonville*, who was on the March with the Troups of the Circles. The Viscount de *Turenne*, who had try'd their Bravery, thought it not fitting to stay the coming up of this Reinforcement beyond the *Rhin*, and as he hop'd the King on his side wou'd send him some Succours, he repass'd on this side till such time as this *Reervill* should be arriv'd. The Prince Palatine, lying at watch to see what wou'd be the Issue of this Conflict, was very much troubled it had pass'd in this manner; and as for his Misfortune, his Countrey was upon the Frontier of both Parties; it was he also that was oblig'd to lay the Cloth, and defray the two Armies. For from the Moment that the Duke of *Lorraine* and *Caprara* had joyn'd the Duke of *Bournonville*, they directed their March on this side the *Nekre*, and while they wasted the Countrey that lies between that River and the *Rhin*, the Viscount de *Turenne* was on this side that River, where his Army subsisted at the cost of the Lands appertaining to his Electoral Highness. This Prince, that had more Wit than any one in all the Empire, was in Despair to see himself thus the Victim of both Parties, and requir'd of the Emperour, either to free him from the abode of his Troups by making them enter *Alsacia* by the way of *Strasbourg*, or by making them undertake the Siege of *Philipsbourg*; which was the Subject of the movement of the two Armies. But there was little less difficulty in the one as in the other. *Strasbourg*, tho' an Imperial City, refus'd to give the Enemies Passage, and there was little likelihood, as I have already said, that they cou'd undertake any thing upon the other Town. To get out of this plunge he advis'd those of his Party to fight a new Battle,

ele, and it seem'd as if the Occasion was going to offer it self very speedily; for the Viscount *de Turenne*, after having receiv'd some Succours, was already preparing a Bridge to pass the *Rhin*, and if the Common Rumour might be Credited, it was only with Design to go seek them out. They held divers Counsels of War thereupon; but the Duke of *Bournonville* and *Caprara*, who had Order from the Emperour to husband his Troups, being in no wise to be perswaded, in vain was it that the Prince *Palatine* endeavour'd to bring them to his Opinion, tho' he had already gain'd the Duke of *Lorrain*. The Viscount *de Turenne* was quickly inform'd of the Resolution that had been taken in this Council, and hoping to render it abortive if he cou'd once come up to them, he pass'd the *Rhin* with a wonderfull Diligence, and follow'd 'em Closely: but they had timely provided for their Retreat, as they held themselves not in surety beyond the *Neker*, they also pass'd the *Mein*. The Viscount *de Turenne* seeing the part of the Palatinate that's Scituated beyond the *Rhin*, at his Discretion, extended his Troups thither, & put the Electour to that fright, that he fled from *Heydelberg*, the Capital City of his small Dominions. In fifteen days this Country, the finest in *Europe*, was utterly ruin'd: full five and twenty Great Villages, and four or five small Cities were wholly reduc'd to Ashes. Impossible is it to represent the Electour *Palatine's* Affliction, as soon as he saw the Conflagration of his Countrey; he Swore before all People that he wou'd be Reveng'd, and without hearkning to what his Reason might dictate to him, he sent a Letter to the Viscount *de Turenne*, the Substance of which being, that he wou'd never have believ'd that a Prince, making Profession of Christianity, wou'd have proceeded in such manner; that Burning was

only held good among *Barbarians*, and if sometimes us'd among *Christians*, 'twas in such Cases as cou'd not be attributed to him; that he had not refus'd paying the Contributions, nor done any Act so Barbarous as to merit this Reprisal; that if he had had some Souldiers Massacred, his Subjects were Innocent of the matter, and that this had been done by those of the Bishop of *Spire*; that therefore this was a willfull Cruelty against him, for which he shou'd be overjoy'd to be reveng'd, if he wou'd distance himself from the head of his Army; that he needed only to Chose the field of Battle, and the Arms he was minded to make use of; that he was ready not only to grant him both the one and the Other, but also to give him all the Sureties he shou'd require.

The Viscount *de Turenne* was amaz'd at the Resentment of this Prince, accounted so Wise, and who nevertheless had suffer'd himself to be so hurry'd away with the Desire of Revenge, that he had presum'd he might fight with him. Not to leave him any longer in this Errour, he signify'd immediately to his Electoral Highness that he was under great Affliction for what had happen'd; that far from going about to Excuse his Soldiers, not one of All those that Occasion'd that Conflagration had Escap'd punishment: But that if he durst speak something in their Excuse, the Cruelty that had been Exercis'd upon their Companions, was so strange, that it was not to be wonder'd if they had Avenged 'em upon inanimate things; that in their first Motions they had not taken the pains to Examine who had been the Authors of so Cruel a Usage; that having seen their Comrades Hang'd upon Trees, some having their Hearts torn out of their Bellies; Others their Privy Members cut-off; Others

Others their feet burnt, and in short all so inhumanely us'd, as gave Occasion to believe they had pass'd thro' the hands of Executioners, he left his Electoral Highness to think with himself whether they were come to consult him about taking their Revenge; that if it were so he had reason to blame him; but that if it were not so, & that on the Contrary he had caus'd Justice to be done by Exemplary Punishment, he did not think it reasonable to be tax'd in such a manner by his Electorel Highness; that as for the Combat mention'd in his Letter, he shou'd take it for a very great Honour, if the Post he was in would allow him to Embrace it: but that his Electoral Highness knew better than any man, under what obligations he lay through his Employ; that he could not flatter himself that the King would give him the Permission; that it wou'd be of too pernicious a Consequence, and that for his part he would not expose himself to his Denial. These reasons, though very pertinent, were not capable of easing that Princes Resentment, he being dayly more and more Exasperated by the ruine of his Country: But what overwhelm'd him with Greif was to see the slowness of his Allies, who with such numerous Troups durst not venture upon any enterprize. *Rabinhaut* was just as much advanc'd as at the first day before *Grave*, and the Prince of *Orange*, though he had not yet been joyn'd by the Count de *Montcrey*, did nothing but cat up *Flanders* out of House and Home, though his Army was above fifty thousand men. The Prince of *Condé* was ever at the side of him, and they had often been within a League of one another without any considerable matter occurring. This the Duke of *Lorrain* found fault with as well as the Prince Palatine: and though fortune had left some difference between them, since the one still enjoy'd his Dominions, and that the other

other was despoyl'd of his, yet as they were Both in tribulation, they jump'd almost altogether in their sentiments; However when they mutter'd most against all these Transactions, the Prince of *Conde* engag'd an Occasion, wherein he might have acquir'd much Glory, if he wou'd have contented himself with the Advantages fortune at the first offer'd his Highness. The Prince of *Orange* march'd towards *Le Fay*, a woody Country, as is most part of *Flanders*, and the Ground obliging his Highness to leave some Interval between the Van and the Reer, or rather the Van being not able to joyn the Rear, but by passing several Defiles, the Prince of *Conde*, who was prompt to Conceive, resolv'd to cut it off. For this purpose he caus'd the King's Household to march, of which the right wing of his Army was compos'd, which having totally defeated some Troups nearest at hand, so startled those that were most advanc'd, that without thinking any longer of joyning the Van, they put themselves into the Church of *Senes*, and into other places where they expected most resistance to be made; thus they abandoned some Carriages, that were forthwith plunder'd: but this having not hinder'd our Troups from doing their Duty, All those Places were forc'd, and a number of Prisoners were taken and many men kill'd. This Good Success had not cost us a hundred men, whereas the Enemies had lost full three thousand in the Action, besides the Equipages I have mention'd. This was Sufficient to content another General than the Prince of *Conde*: but his Highness thinking his Victory Imperfect if he did not render it greater, caus'd the enemies to be pursu'd, who had drawn themselves up in *Batalia* behind *Le Fay*, after having garnish'd all the Avenues with Infantry and Dragoons. He pusht there after a Surprizing manner to drive away those Dragoons and that

that Infantry : but the Enemies having the Advantage of the hedges over us, they kill'd us so great a number of men, that in less than a moment all the field of Battle was Cover'd with the Dead. The Prince of *Condé* began to be in Despair that he had so lightly engag'd in so great a Peril : But the Affair being embark'd, he wou'd needs see if there was no means to come Happily off. He caus'd fresh Troups to Advance, but the Enemies having done the same, his New Efforts only serv'd to make him try New Disasters ; he lost an infinite Number of Officers, and the end of the Battle was so disadvantageous to his Highness, that it defac'd the Honour he had acquir'd in the Beginning. In short, the two Parties being Paul'd with so many Charges ceas'd firing upon one another ; and tho' the Night that had overtaken them had not been capable of Separating them, Labour and Weariness did what Night had not been able to Effect. However the two Armies remain'd in One Another's view till Eleven a Clock at Night, which made it presum'd that at break of Day they wou'd re-engage. The Prince of *Condé* being quite spent as well as the rest, had laid himself down upon a Cloak at the corner of a Hedge, where his mind being full of Care and Disquiet, he knew not how to repair the loss he had undergone, and still less how to reincourage his men who seem'd quite dejected ; in effect, the enemies meaning to retreat, spread a Universal fear and terrour among our men, by a discharge they made to hinder us from penetrating their Design : Insomuch that had they charg'd at the same time instead of betaking themselves to a Retreat, all our Army had undoubtedly been put to flight. The Prince of *Condé* was overjoy'd at the Course they had taken, and his Troups having had time to recover Courage, he observ'd the enemies,



enemies, who had a Design to beseige some Place ; not  
 one was there but what was afraid, & some Governours  
 manifested so much weakness, as prov'd sufficient to de-  
 pose them. In fine after having made all *Flanders* trem-  
 ble, they fell upon *Oudenarde*, wherein the Prince of  
*Condé* had newly put the Marquis de *Rannes*, Colo-  
 nel-General of the Dragons. This Prince knowing  
 some Discourses were held to his Prejudice since  
 the Affair of *Senef*, hardly allow'd himself time, to  
 stay for some Succours that the Marechal de *Hu-  
 mieres* was to bring him, to March against the En-  
 mies, and breaking up as soon as Ever it was come,  
 not a man but imagin'd, that as his Highness was full  
 of Resentment, a great Slaughter was impending.  
 The Diligence he us'd did not permit the Enemies  
 to take the Place before his Arrival ; and the Counts  
 de *Senches*, and *Monterey*, having been of Opinion  
 not to hazard their Troups, which the Circumval-  
 lation held Sever'd from one Another, the Prince  
 of *Orange* was forc'd to Consofm himself thereunto,  
 tho' his Opinion lay rather to leave something to  
 Chance than receive this Affront. The Siege of  
*Oudenard* having been rais'd in this manner, the  
 Enemies Troups resolv'd to Separate, and the Prince  
 of *Orange* seeing that *Rabenhaut*, who was still before  
 the *Grave*, wou'd remain there a long while, unless  
 he was Succour'd, went thither himself with his  
 Forces. The other Enemies made also a great Detach-  
 ment, with which they directed their way towards  
 the *Meuse*, where they took the City of *Dinan*, and  
 that of *Huy*, both situated upon that River. Im-  
 possible was it for the Prince of *Condé* to oppose  
 these Enterprises, for as much as that a part of his  
 Troups had been drawn out to be sent to the Viscount  
 de *Turenne*, who every Moment saw those Encreas'd  
 that made head against him. This had at length  
 oblig'd

oblig'd him to retreat on this side the *Rhin*; and as there was reason to believe that the Enemies could not pass that River at *Strasbourg*, whose Magistrates had promis'd Exactly to observe the Neutrality, he had an Eye to the Conservation of *Philipsbourg*, on which, after many resolutions they seem'd to have a desire to fasten. That way-wards had they directed their March, and were in a posture for any sort of Enterprize; for in short, their Army was now compos'd not only of the Groups of the Emperour, and of the Duke of *Lorraine*, but also those of the Princes of *Brunswick*, of the Arch-Bishop of *Cologne*. and of the Bishop of *Munster*, without reckoning those of the Circles under the Command of the Duke of *Bourbonville*. They made up at least fifty thousand men, & only waited for those of the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*: But as it had been a shame for 'em to hide themselves being already so very numerous, they appear'd in the Field, and scattered different rumours as concerning their Designs. The Viscount *de Turenne* was none of those that dwelt upon these sort of things; thus minding their Paces more then all the rest, he quickly perceiv'd their Aims were not levell'd upon *Philipsbourg*, and that their whole scope was to pass the *Rhin*; This he oppos'd for some time with all the Success he could desire. But the Enemies drawing near *Mentz*, they engag'd the Electour, notwithstanding his having pass'd his Word to the King to remain Neuter, to suffer them to pass thro' the Town. To Cover his Infidelity, he signify'd to the Viscount *de Turenne* that they had trepann'd him, and that having promis'd them passage only for the Sick, and for the Equipage, they had made use of his easyness to mingle therewith the greatest part of their Cavalry. Easy is it to judge how little satisfactory those Reasons were

were to the Viscount *de Turenne*. But not being in a Condition to exert his Resentment. he was oblig'd to dissemble, and to run to what was most urging. For the Enemies, after having thus caus'd their Horse to pass; had built a Bridge near the Town, which serv'd for their Infantry, and they already began to appear in *Alsacia*; where they had ev'n seiz'd on sundry Posts. The Viscount *de Turenne* having judg'd by all these movements that their Design was to enter into *Lorraine*, inrench'd himself in their Passage; and tho' he had but Twenty Thousand Men, he so hamper'd them that they durst not venture to give him Battle. The Duke of *Lorraine* who had Correspondencies in his own Country, receiv'd every moment News from thence, by which he had signify'd to him that his Highness wou'd no sooner appear but that he wou'd find People in a readyness to follow his Fortune; for which reason he propos'd to his Allies that if they wou'd grant him some Horse, he wou'd so order Matters as to break through into his own Territories: But as they were afraid that the desire of returning thither, wou'd make him attempt things beyond his Forces, they refus'd him this Succours. This so exasperated him against them, that he openly shew'd his Vexation; nay and Writ concerning it to the Emperour: But as he had liv'd in so strange a manner that he was suspected upon the least thing, the others easily wash'd their hands of his Accusation; and on the contrary made the Emperour believe, that he minded much more his own particular Interest than the Common Concern. In the Interim so Vast an Army having much ado to subsist in such narrow Quarters, the Enemies resolv'd to repass the *Rhin*, to which they, moreover, saw themselves excited

excited by several Caballs they had in *Strasbourg*, that endeavour'd to engage the Magistrates to Declare in favour of them. The Viscount *de Turenne* being ignorant of these Practices, was afraid lest they shou'd return on the other side that River to Besiege *Philipsbourg*, and being willing to oppose it, he set his Men to work upon a Bridge about half a League from that Town. The Enemies being overjoy'd he had thus follow'd the lure, endeavour'd to augment his suspicions to make him pass the *Rhin*: But as he was not a man to lye long under a mistake, he quickly discover'd what pass'd, and endeavour'd to apply Remedies accordingly. For this purpose he sent *Machaut*, the Intendant of the Army, into *Strasbourg*, with order to remonstrate to the Magistrates what they expos'd themselves to, if they were wanting in their Word. That after the Intelligence he had giv'n him, as he had reason to harbour some Umbrage, he wisht that either they wou'd remit to him the Guarding of their Bridge, or wou'd give him other Sureties; that it was for them to consider whether they wou'd rather chuse to give Hostages, but that he was not resolv'd to trust to their bare Promises. This Complement surpriz'd those Magistrates, and being spread among the Common People that were gain'd by the *Imperialists*, there happen'd a Sedition; So as that they were for falling upon the *French*. This Disorder still augmented very much at the approach of some Troups, which the Viscount *de Turenne* had Detach'd to seize on the Bridge; for he had been inform'd that those of the Town were under an engagement to deliver it to the Enemies, and he meant to endeavour to prevent them: But the Marquis *de Vaubrun*, who led them, having

ving not been able to win the Redoubt they had made to shelter it from Insult, he found himself so engag'd, that had not the Viscount *de Turenne* come up, he and his Men were in great Peril. In the mean while *Caprara*, being advanc'd at the Head of a Thousand Dragoons and Three Thousand Horse, seiz'd on the Bridge, and the Viscount *de Turenne* having given the Marquis *de Fausberg* the Means to retire, the whole Army joyn'd, and went to seek out an advantageous Post. There being then no more obstacles to hinder the Enemies from entring *Alsace*, they had nothing more to mind than to provide for their subsistence in that Province, for the Viscount *de Turenne* caus'd all that could be of use to them, to be remov'd into *Saverin* and *Haguenaw*. The King being inform'd of the People of *Strasbourg's* Infidelity, sent speedy Succours to the Viscount *de Turenne*; but this Viscount Countermanded a great part of it, which startled many People, being generally thought in great Danger. But he seeing farther than Others, already meditated an extraordinary enterprize, and which hardly any man besides himself could have happily manag'd. In the mean while the enemies were advanc'd towards *Enseim*, wherein they had deceiv'd this Prince, who had expected they wou'd march against him, and principally, after having seen some Horse appear. They made a great Trophy of this Stratagem, which had sped them happily, & this piquing the Viscount *de Turenne*, he wou'd needs let them see, that notwithstanding the inequality of the forces, he was still in a Condition to ply 'em with work Sufficient. In effect, knowing that they kept themselves in their Leaguer as if they had nothing to fear, and that they slept out the whole morning in a great Confidence of their forces, he left his Camp at two a clock  
after

after midnight, and endeavour'd to get to them before they had notice of his march. Without a continual Rain, which lasted all the night and all the day following, he had effected his Design: but his Army not coming till five a Clock in the evening upon the Hills of *Moltzheim*, the Enemies had time to precaution themselves, and to prepare for Battle. Tho' his Men were very much fatigated, he made them possess themselves of the out-Posts without suffering them to breathe; and having stood to their Arms all the Night, he led them to the Battle at Break of Day. It was more obstinate on Both sides, than any that had been yet fought, and as it was the Viscount *de Turenne's* Opinion, that when a General had five and twenty thousand Men, he had nothing to fear, he did not mind, as I said before, that the Enemies had twice as many. However, tho' that the two Armies were drawn-up in Battalia, they fought only by Detachment, and what was considerable pass'd in a Wood, that was between Both, and where the Enemies had intrench'd themselves, that they might be able to take us in the flank. They did Wonders to Defend it; but our Infantry and our Dragoons render'd themselves Masters of it, after a long Conflict; Nay, and kept it tho' the Duke of *Lorraine* Enter'd it with the Cavalry fche Left Wing. The Horse of the Right Wing seeing that all but they were engag'd, fell upon our Left, which it overturn'd upon the Body of Reserve; Insomuch that with one single Charge it broke us entirely: But the Viscount *de Turenne* having an eye to all, caus'd the Infantry to advance, and it again sav'd the Cavalry as it had done at the Battle of *Seintzeim*. The Viscount *de Turenne* had a Horse Wounded under him, as he pass'd from one Battallion to another to give his

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Orders;

Orders, and the Night having interrupted the Battle, he retir'd with Ten Cannons he had taken in the Wood. The Enemies were sorely vex'd they had not been able to speed with such considerable Troups, and they resolv'd, after having try'd his Valour, not to engage in any Enterprize 'till the Marquis of *Brandenbourg* was come up. His Electoral Highness being come at length, they fancy'd the Viscount *de Turenne* had no other Course than to retreat into his Mountains, and that they might go where-ever they pleas'd: But his Excellency meaning to shew them, that he feared them not the more for their having augmented their Number, he provided *Savern* and *Haguenaw* under their very Nose, then Posted himself so to advantage, that he was in a Condition to Crosbite all their Designs. They made a shew of Aiming to Besiege those two Places, to oblige him to quit his Posts; but he looking upon all their Motions, as so many Snares which they laid for him, he so tyr'd them out by his Patience, that they fell to contriving how to enlarge themselves into upper *Alsace*, where they had not met with any Fortify'd Place; they were oblig'd to take this Course, because that so great an Army could not Subsist altogether. The Marquis of *Brandenbourg* was on the side of *Colmar* with the Troups of *Brunswic*; and those of the Other Allies took their Quarters on both sides the Riv. r *d' Ill*. The Viscount *de Turenne* feigning he would follow their Example, caus'd his Troups to march towards *Lorrain*, but instead of distributing them up and down, he cross'd that Province, wherein he had giv'n order to have Oats and Hay ready for his Horse: By that means he put it into a reasonable good posture; Insomuch that it was hardly sensible of so long a March. In the mean

mean while, not a Man dreamt whither he was going, and the World was far from imagining he was Marching against the Enemies; but having seen him direct his Way for *Beisfort*, they began to suspect the Bus'ness, and at the same time enter into Admiration. The Enemies, who had been farr from Shrifring into his Design, had spread themselves still more since his Departure, nay and some of 'em were come as farr as *Remismont*, and to *Espinal* in *Lorrain*: These were the first he attack'd; but escaping by flight, they carry'd to the Rest the tydings of what Occur'd. The Alarum was great among them, and they endeavour'd to defend the Passage of the River *d'Ille*. The Viscount *de Turenne* did suspect that wou'd be the Course they would take; for which reason quitting the Main Body of the Army, with all Expedition did he advance with three thousand Horse, he beat some Squadrons, that were posted upon the Bank of the River, and they were so Surpriz'd, that they never thought of giving Notice to some of their Garrisons that were Scatter'd up and down in Castles. The Army being come beyond the River, he detach'd Great Parties to cut off those that were abroad, and we took a great Number of Prisoners. However, tho' we pass'd in sight of several Places wherein still Troups were, yet would not we attack them for fear of losing too much time. By this means was the Marquis of *Brandenbourg* Surpriz'd as well as the Rest, which was perceiv'd by the fault he committed in abandoning *Turquem*, which is upon the Canal of *Colmart*. The Viscount *de Turenne* being come thither, seiz'd on't, and his Troups were no sooner in the Place, but that the Enemies return'd to drive them thence; this Occasion'd a Sharp dispute, wherein many



Men were lost on both sides: But the Night coming on without the Enemies having been able to drive us thence, they took that time to make their Retreat, and repass'd the *Rhin* at *Strasbourg*. In the mean while, they were not twenty thousand strong on the Other side, and all the rest perish'd either in the foregoing Engagements, or in this Occasion.

Tho' the Success the Viscount *de Turenne* had had against so numerous an Army, had surpass'd, as I may say, the hopes of the Court, yet was it not without apprehensions, thro' the fear of the like danger; For we were from all parts inform'd that the *Germans* made Extraordinary Preparations to return more powerfull then Ever. The Viscount *de Turenne* being repair'd to Court, the King made him so favourable a Reception, as cou'd have no Addition, and having shut himself up with him in his Closet, he wou'd needs know all that had Occur'd during the Campaign, and cou'd not sufficiently admire a Conduct that had Screen'd the Kingdom from many Calamities. The Viscount *de Turenne* would have laid hold of that Occasion to have made his Complaints of the Marquis *de Louvoy*, who had often sent him Orders he had reason to Complain of, & pretended that all the Generals should obey him, as if he had had more Skill in Martial Affairs than they; but knowing that the Prince of *Conde* had no less resentment than he himself had against this Minister, by reason of certain Discourses he had held after the Battle of *Senef*, he resolv'd to see him first, and, if possible, to act in Concert with his Highness, to disabuse the King of the Great Confidence he had in him. The Prince of *Conde* being provok'd against the Marquis *de Louvoy*, with joy receiv'd the Proposal made him by the Viscount *de Turenne*, and they agree'd together, that the Prince  
of

of *Conde* should speak of it to the King first, and that the Viscount *de Turenne* shou'd back what he shou'd say. But *Mr. Le Tellier* having known, by I know not what means what had been resolv'd of between these two Generals, he employ'd the Bishop of *Autun* much in favour with the Prince of *Conde*, so as that this Prince, no longer remembring what he had promis'd the Viscount *de Turenne*, let several days slip without speaking to the King. The Viscount Suspecting the Occasion of it, wou'd not suffer this to make him be wanting to what he ow'd to himself, & without complaining to the Prince of *Conde*, for his having forgot his word, he repair'd to the King, beseeching his Majesty to give him a private Audience. The King having granted it him, he told his Majesty that as perhaps, he was not inform'd of what pass'd, he was very glad to acquaint him with it; that he knew not whether it was by his Order that the Marquis *de Louvois* had Written to him several times touching what he had to do during the Campaign, but as the Directions he had receiv'd were sufficiently ill digested, he attributed them rather to his Minister than to his Majesty, who was too Illuminated to commit those sorts of faults; that he who was upon the place was more capable to decide what there was to be done, than the other, that was at a Distance; that besides he left him to judge which was the man of the two that had the most Experience; that he did not tell him this, to gainsay what was necessary, but to let him know that the Marquis *de Louvois*, not content with doing his own Office, wou'd needs also perform that of Others; that if he had resolv'd to confer on him again the command of his Army, he besought his Majesty that he wou'd vouchsafe to send him his Orders himself, and receive his Letters; that the Cardinal *de Bouillon* his Nephew would encharge himself

himself with Both, if not, his Majesty would Extremely oblige him by dispensing him from serving any longer, because that as it too much lessen'd his Honour, to Commit the faults he was caus'd to make, he was very willing to husband his Reputation. The King receiv'd this advertisement as a Wise Prince, and who was not so blinded with his Minister as to refuse to do justice to others; he permitted him to write to him directly by the means of the Cardinal *de Bouillon*, adding also that he wou'd have him to be the Person to convey him his Orders. However as the King knew that the Viscount *de Turenne* cou'd not forbear speaking a little bitterly to the Marquis *de Louvois* of what had happen'd, he wou'd needs, for the keeping of Peace between Persons so necessary to his Service, have this Minister go to the Viscounts House, and desire his Amity. Many Others in the Viscount *de Turenne*'s Room would have thought themselves very much honour'd in the Visit of a Man possess'd of the Kings favour, and wou'd, indubitably, have made use of that Occasion to the Advancement of their fortune: But this Prince acting only thro' a Motive of Glory, receiv'd the Compliment of this Minister with such great Indifference, that the Marquis *de Louvois* remain'd altogether Surpriz'd; However, as he had order from the King, as I newly hinted, to require of him his friendship, he made all imaginable Advances to obtain it: But the Viscount *de Turenne* answer'd him with his wonted slegme, that as he knew very well that these Words proceeded only from the Kings Command, he wou'd thenceforward Examine his Conduct, and when he shou'd have done as many things to be of the Number of his friends, as he had done to be of his, he wou'd see what it became him to do. This Answer was admired by the Prince

Prince of *Condé*, who cou'd not forbear saying, That the Viscount *de Turenne* had in this perform'd a finer Action, then in Winning so many Towns and Battles : And indeed, we meet with more Captains capable of those great Successes, than such as struggle thus against favour : And of this the Prince of *Condé* himself gave testimony in that Occasion, since he had, as was said, so soon forgot what he had promis'd the Viscount *de Turenne*. In the Interim, this Affair that had made so much noise among the Courtiers, far from puffing up the Viscount *de Turenne*, seem'd to render him still more affable towards All People. All those that had admir'd what he had done in the foregoing Campaign, no less admir'd his Modesty, for he generally went all alone in his Coach, and without the Attendance of more than two or three footmen ; Every one stopp'd to see him pass, and he return'd to Every Individual the Salute with so much Goodness, that the *Parisians* that are easily Won upon by Civility, wou'd as I may say, have Sacrific'd themselves for him, and this pleas'd 'em so much the more, as that other Persons of Condition did not do the like, Especially the Marquis *de Louvois*, who Affected minding no Body in his passage.

In the mean while, the King did not suffer the Winter to while out, without endeavouring to attract several Forreign Princes to his Party, by the means of his Money, and among others the King of *Sueden*, who had till then deferr'd proceeding to a Declaration ; but at length, resolving upon it at the suscitation of several of his Council, that were Pensioners of *France*, he took the field, and oblig'd the Electour of *Brändenbourg*, and the Princes of *Brunswic* to draw back the greatest part of the Troups they had upon the *Rhin*. As it was a long

way to return into their own Territories, Especially for the Marquis de *Brandenbourg*, His Subjects were very much alarm'd at the Approach of the *Suedish* Army, which must needs, if it had been well manag'd, have made advantage of this Sovereigns Absence: But stopping, without any Necessity, at some Sorry Burroughs, the Marquis of *Brandenbourg* had time to draw near as well as the Troups of *Brunswick*, those of *Munster*, and those of the King of *Denmark*, that joyn'd all together against this Common Enemy: However as there needed not so many to bring him to reason, they quickly separated to act in different places. The Marquis de *Branderbourg* having reassured his Dominions by his Presence, pursued the *Suedes*, who had giv'n ground upon the Notice they had of his being near at hand, and having over-taken them at *Ferberlin*, he beat their Rier. This Victory having open'd him the way of Regal *Pomerania*, he attack'd several Places that made not any Resistance, while the Troups of *Brunswick* and *Munster* fell upon the Dutchy of *Bremen*. As concerning the King of *Denmark*, he took the Isles of *Dussedom* and *Wolin*, and laid siege to *Wolgast*; In-somuch that a Man wou'd have said, that Fortune that had formerly caus'd the Great *Gustavus* to make all these Conquests in a short space, wou'd by no means that the Enemies of his Successour should Employ more to take 'em away from him: Tho' that these Disorders that Besell a Prince ally'd to the Crown, had matter to startle the Court; yet as this had nevertheless made an advantageous Diversion, the King repair'd into *Flanders* where he made a shew as if his Aim was upon *Charlemont*: but having pass'd the *Meuse*, he caus'd *Limbourg* to be attack'd, while his Majesty himself

himself made head against the Succours preparing by the Prince of *Orange*. But this Prince being to cross the River of ——— which he found Guarded by a good number of Troups, his March proved Abortive, being not in a Condition to undertake to force this Pass. Thus *Limbourg* being past all hopes, it Surrendred to the Prince of *Condé*, whom the King had sent before it. The Marquis of *Rochefort* took also the City of *Huy*, besides that *Dinant* had been won at the opening of the Campaign, which afforded us still two Passes upon the *Meuse*, and shut up close the Garrison of *Namur*. The Enemies having not been able to hinder this Loss, resolv'd to Besiege the City of *Trier*, for the opening to themselves the Passes of *Luxembourg*. The Duke of *Lorraine* being in Those parts with his Troupes, and some that appertain'd to the Princes of *Brunswic*, having taken the Enterprize upon him, he left *Coblentz* behind him, and having giv'n some Jealousy by his March, the King sent the Mareschal de *Crequi* to observe him. The Duke of *Lorraine* to Conceal from him his Design, made a feint, as if he meant to Invade *Lorraine*, and having thus distanc'd the Mareschal from the place he design'd to attacque, he of a sudden wheel'd about to *Trier* which he beleaguerr'd. The Mareschal de *Crequi* was very much at a plunge how to relieve the place, not that he wanted Courage to undertake it, but because he had newly giv'n a Detachment of his Army to go into *Brittany*, where the People were Revolted: The Inhabitants of *Guyenne* had done the like, and both were brought to this extremity by the number of the Subsidies the King had laid upon them, by reason of the pressing necessity he was in to raise Money. Yet this did not hinder the Mareschal de *Crequi* from drawing near

*Trier* :

*Trier*: but as he was not the strongest, he intrench'd himself at *Taverne*, the *Moselle* being between him and the Enemies. Nevertheless he signify'd his Motions to the Governour, whom he excited to a Vigorous Defence by the Promises he made him of Relief, for he hop'd to receive some Troups from the Bishopricks to supply the room of those that were gone into *Brittany*. The Duke of *Lorrain* being an Old Captain, fill'd with Experience, and unwilling to give him time to augment his Forces, sent to scann the *Moselle*, which was found to be fordable in several Places, so as that having left before *Treves*, only what was Necessary for the Guarding the Lines, he march'd directly to the River, with all his forces; he cross'd it immediately, yet not without the Marechal *de Crequi's* being inform'd of his so doing, which oblig'd him to draw-up his Army in Battalia: but his Horse chanc'd to be gone to Forrage, which almost made him mad, for out of fear of what might happen, three whole days had he forbidden any to stir out of the Camp; but under the Pretext that he had giv'n two hundred Horse leave to go Forrage, the Rest went along, contrary to his Orders. He fell into an Extravagant Passion against the Marechal of the Cavalry's Lodgments, of whom he demanded the Reason of their being gone, and this latter having no other answer to make, but that he had deliver'd his Orders Exactly as he gave them, His Head turn'd in such manner as that he was past knowing what he did: Instead of possessing two Hills that were upon his Right, tho' he had been minded that it was absolutely necessary so to do, he trifled away his time in many things that were of less importance, and when he wou'd have done that, it was too late. The Count *de la Mark*, whom

whom he had Commanded out for that purpose, was kill'd in endeavouring to repair this fault, as well as several Officers that back'd him. This Disaster was follow'd with the like Success in all the Posts the *French* endeavour'd to defend, because that our Infantry having not Horse to make head against that of the Enemies, it was surrounded beyond the Possibility of Prevention. The Regiment of Guards escap'd into a Marsh, the others betook themselves into the Woods, and the Disorder was so great, that the *Mareschal de Crequi* fled himself at last. He knew not at first whither to Retreat; but his Despair inspiring him to go to *Trier*, he fancy'd he shou'd do well in following it's Dictates, forasmuch as that he had had tydings the Night before, that the Governour was fall'n from off the top of a Bastion, whither he wou'd needs go on Horseback, by which fall he was Kill'd Stone-dead. We know not to what to attribute the faults which the *Mareschal de Crequi* Committed in this Occasion, unless to the loss he had suffer'd the evening before of his Equipage, which had been burnt, which had put him into so bad a Humour, that he was hardly to be known again. The Absence of his Cavalry did also thereto much Contribute, but more than all this the Will of God; who wou'd needs that such Disasters shou'd follow that we had newly undergone; and which was much greater, for we had newly lost the Viscount *de Turenne*. Be it as it will, the *Marfchal de Crequi* being enter'd *Trier* without any other accident befalling him, he comforted the Garrison for the loss it had suffer'd of the Governour, and tho' the Place was not much worth of it self, he wou'd have shewn that Courage is capable of supplying great Defects, if one call'd *Beis-jourdan*, a Captain of the Garrison, had



had not Debauch'd his Companions. This Captain, either being afraid to fall in the Attacques, or being excited by some other movement which it is difficult to apprehend, insinuated into the other Captains, that the *Mareschal de Crequi* being become a Bankrupt of his Reputation after what had newly befall'n him, was very willing to get to be Kill'd on the Breach, or to render himself considerable by some desperate Exploit; that it was for them to see if they wou'd imitate him, they who had no share in his fault; that he had ever us'd the Officers, as Servants, and that it was time for them to shew their Resentment on that score; that this was all they cou'd have done for a *Turenne*; but that a *Turenne* had been too wise to suffer himself to be beaten as this *Mareschal* had done, or to demand of them that they should Court being Kill'd to repair his Honour; that for his part, he was resolv'd to expose himself rather to all sorts of Perils, than thus to be an Implement to his Intentions; that if they believ'd him, they wou'd treat with the Enemies about the Surrender of the Place; that the King cou'd not take it ill of them, since this was not done, 'till after having defended the Walls in all Points as far as their Honour and the Duty of their Commands could require; that on the contrary he would have reason to complain of them, if to satisfy a Desperate Person, they expos'd their Soldiers beyond what Reason and the Laws of War prescrib'd them. *Boisjourdan's* Discourse was listen'd to with the more Delight, out of the hatred that each one bore the *Mareschal de Crequi*, who, as he had very well urg'd, had ever been very Courteous in his Behaviour to his Officers. Thus All having approv'd what he had said, he was authoriz'd to

to treat with the Enemies. The Mareschal *de Crequi*, having had the Wind of so extraordinary a Transaction, could not believe it, if *Boisjourdan* did not assure him of it himself, and knowing him to be upon the Rempart, he repair'd thither with Motions of Anger, which, nevertheless, he endeavour'd to dissemble. But *Boisjourdan*, joyning Impudence to Treason, made him quickly burst out from the Constraint he was under by his Insolent discourse to him. Then the Mareschal *de Crequi* being no longer able to curb himself, laid his hand to his Sword, and oblig'd him to leap into the Ditch. *Boisjourdan* went to inform the Enemies that it was time to render themselves Masters of the Town; but tho' they made use of his Advertisement, they let him see the Esteem People have for Traytors, for they would not give him a Retreat: This oblig'd him to endeavour to make his Escape; but being known at *Metz*, he was secur'd, and afterwards Beheaded, too mild a Punishment for such a piece of Treason as his. In the Interim *Trier* was taken, half willingly, half by force, and the Mareschal *de Crequi* having refus'd to sign the Capitulation that had been agreed on by *Boisjourdan*, was made Prisoner of War. The Enemies kept but ill the Conditions they had granted, for as there had been those that had turn'd their Arms against them, at their Entrance into the Town, they made use of that Pretext to content their Avarice and their Cruelty; Several Soldiers were Stript, severall Houses Plunder'd, and severall Women ravish'd: which made the *French*, for reprisals, severely treat some Towns they took. But all this was not capable of Comforting them for the losses they had newly made, and which wou'd have had great Consequences, if the Duke of *Lorraine* had known

known how to improve the victory : But having embroil'd himself with the heads of the Troups that had help'd him to win it, he could not enter *France*; as otherwise wou'd have been easy for him to have done, for there was no longer any Army to defend the Frontier ; and the heart being inclin'd, as it was, to revolt, he had put the State into a strange Combustion. On the side of *Catalonia* matters went a little more happily, the Count de *Schomberg* recover'd the Castle of *Bellegarde*, and having thereby affranchiz'd *Roussillon* from the Servitude it was under, he carry'd his Arms into *La Cerdagne*, a Province of small extent, but sufficiently fertile. We also gain'd some petty Advantages in *Sicily*, where we took the City of *Augusta*. However the King having had the Complaisance to send thither the Duke of *Vivonne* in the room of *de Vallavoir*, who minded more his own Concerns than those of his Party, he achiev'd nothing considerable though he had forces sent him capable of putting Affairs into a better Condition. The King, after having Committed this fault, Committed a Second in not recalling him, for he knew very well, that he had not sufficient Experience for an Enterprize of that Moment; add to this, that though he had had sufficient, he lov'd his Pleasures too much to apply himself in due manner to Affairs ; but he was link'd to his Majesty by too Charming Considerations for him to inspect matters so narrowly, he was *Madame de Montespan's* Brother, who had taken *Madame de la Valliere's* place, which this latter had laid so to heart that she had thrown her self into a Convent. Nevertheless all these things wou'd not have much troubled the King, but for the loss of the Viscount de *Turenne*, who on the twenty seventh of July had been kill'd by a Canon shot. This Prince was advanc'd at the head of his Victorious Troups against

against *Montecuculi*; an old Captain, that had made War for above these fifty years, and who on the Account of his Age was Excus'd from serving the year afore. These two Generals possessing almost an Equal Experience, having put in practice all that War had most refin'd and crafty, made appear in five or six weeks time, that a Good General is not forc'd to fight but when he pleases; for though they were still near one another, not one of the two found the Occasion to attacque. The Viscount *de Turenne* facing these Difficulties, was contriving to take *Wabstadt*, thereby to Cut off the Enemies Communication with *Strasburg*, that in appearance remain'd in Neutrality, but would have been very willing to break it in their favour. *Montecuculi* having Suspected his Design, caus'd Troups to file off thither; but the Viscount *de Turenne* having taken his measures remote, they got thither first. All these Paces did not please the People of *Strasburg*, whose Territory was equally a Prey to both Parties; for which reason many wou'd have had them declare themselves Speedily: But the wisest being of a Contrary Opinion, demonstrated, that though they suffer'd every year by the Neighbourhood of the two Armies, it was notwithstanding more advantageous to them, than to be Expos'd to those Inconveniences, as to Espouse any Party; that Both were Equally dangerous, because that in endeavouring to shew themselves Independent, they wou'd perhaps suddainly fall into servitude; that after this, they could not refuse the entrance of their Town to those on Whose side they should have declar'd themselves; and who should assure them that either the One or Other would not Seize on it, seeing themselves there the masters; that good sense requir'd the never receiving into ones Walls any Body that cou'd be suspected; that the  
Efforts

Efforts Both sides made to Engage them on their Respective sides, should sufficiently acquaint them what Importance their Town was of. The Emperour and the King made them a thousand fair Promises to bring that about; but the former, notwithstanding the advice of the Wiser, advanc'd his Affairs much more than the latter; all whole offers were Equally Suspended. The Viscount de Turenne knowing the Disposition People were in at Strasbourg, sent rather to Threaten them; which a little Curb'd their Spirits; for they All making Reflexion that this great Man might still this Campaign have again the same Success he had had in the former, dreaded least he might turn his Army against their Town. In brief, his Reputation alone retain'd them rather than his Forces; and indeed there was little likelyhood that a Town having Eight or Nine Thousand men in Garrison should quake before an Army, that often was hardly more numerous. It was not Strasbourg alone that had so much fear, Montecuculi knew not what Course to take to Supply and keep on foot his Army, which no longer deriv'd from Strasbourg all the Succours it was wont to receive thence. He Sought for field on all sides where he might find Passages, that were not Common in a Country where War had so long been made: Besides this it became him to find an advantageous situation where he might be shelter'd from the Viscount de Turenne who still coasted him. In short he saw himself reduc'd to fight or dye of Hunger, when a fatal day happen'd for us: I mean that Unhappy day wherein we lost the Viscount de Turenne. He had never been seen more gay and joyfull, nor more content, he fancy'd that the Enemies cou'd no longer

Escape

escape him, and tho' it was not his Custom to  
 say any thing to his own Advantage, he could not  
 forbear bloting the then present State of things, and  
 indignity to it to the King; But during these Occur-  
 rences thinking to go view a Hill, on which he might  
 see the Battery, he receiv'd a Canon-shot, which hit  
 him in the Breast, and made him fall Dead upon the  
 spot. *Sr Hillare*, the Lieutenant of the Artillery,  
 whom he had brought with him, having been wound-  
 ed at the same time, his son began to make Com-  
 plaints conformable to the misfortune that was be-  
 fallen him: But *Sr Hillare*, melting all into tears,  
 shew'd him the Viscount de *Turenne's* Body, adding  
 that if any thing ought to grieve him, it ought to be  
 the loss they had newly suffer'd off so great a man: this  
 scene was forthwith divulg'd throughout our Army,  
 and occasion'd so great a Consolation, that one  
 would have said that every man had been Condemn'd  
 to Death: After Silence for a while, they fell a  
 sobbing: nor more nor less than if they had lost each  
 individual his own Father; the new Soldiers as well  
 as the Old broke out into Screams and Howlings, ca-  
 pable of softening the most harden'd hearts, it was a  
 wonder to see that People that had so little time to  
 know him, were as sensible as those that had been be-  
 lieved glorify'd with his favours. In the Camp nothing  
 more but Lamentations were heard: the Soldiers cry'd  
 to one another, what our Father's then Dead; What  
 shall we do? Who shall bring us o'er the Rhine again  
 in safety? nay & when we have pass'd it, under whom  
 can we serve from whom we may expect the due  
 Remuneration. Each individual then took Delight to  
 rehearse the Obligations he had to him, but more  
 on the repeating his story with abundance of tears  
 than in doing it. Yet would every man have  
 said, could I but see this great man, I should

Crys and their Weilings. In so general a Sadness, it was impossible to discern the Relations, from Strangers, so real was the Grief; Nor indeed was it without Reason, that the Soldiers call'd him their Father, since that they bore him the same Affection, as if he had been really so. The Count de *Lorges*, his Nephew, being then at the Army, suspended for some Days the tokens of his Grief, for fear it might be capable of daunting the Troups, that remain'd under his Conduct. After this fatal Accident, he made them direct their march toward the *Rhin*, and knowing that the Enemies were brushing against him, he Marshal'd his Army in Battalia, for fear of being surpriz'd. The Enemies perceiv'd plainly by his Countenance, that matters wou'd not goe swimmingly on their side, as they had expected; But being wholly possess'd with the thought, that the Viscount de *Turenne's* Death must needs afford them a Great Advantage, they made up to the Count with a Resolution to fight him. Then was it necessary for the Count de *Lorge* to put in Practice the Lessons his Uncle had set him, he prepar'd for Battle, & did it in so much order as spoke him to be a great Proficient. The Battle was long and doubtfully, but the Enemies having throughout found an extraordinary Opposition, they judg'd more Convenient to retreat, than to fasten any longer upon a thing that had been less usefull than Damageable. The Count de *Lorges* no longer finding any Impediment in passing the *Rhine*, Conducted his Troups into *Alsace*, where he resolv'd to wait the Kings Orders, to whom he had dispatcht a Courier. In the Intermitt being willing to pay his last Duties to his Uncle, he had him a Service perform'd, whereat, if Prevention had not been us'd, Every man of all the Troups wou'd have assisted. For the least Soldier being

hurry'd

Harried on by the Affection he had for his Memory, though himself no less oblig'd than the Court, to be at this Ceremony: Not one was there however, that Contented himself with wearing Mourning in his Heart, Every Individual wou'd needs by outward marks shew his Affliction; and if as much Grief could have been got as they wou'd have had, we shou'd have seen what perhaps, had been never seen in any Army, that is to say, All the Soldiers in Mourning, in Reality they did not mind what it might cost, and he that could get any, thought it a great favour of Fortune. The King having receiv'd the Count de *Long's* Courier, was so very much Afflicted that he wou'd not see any Body for several days together, he said publicly that he had lost the Wisest Man of his Kingdom, and the Greatest of his Captains; and fearing that after this the Enemies might easily enter into the heart of his Dominions, he sent the Prince of *Condé* into *Alsace*, and this Prince found the Means to stop them. The whole Court was sensible to this loss as well as the King, saving only the Minister, who was not so very sorry, tho' he durst not let it outwardly appear. The Arch-Bishop of *Reims*, his Brother, was not, altogether, so Circumspect, he did such things to shew his Joy as displeas'd his father, who being one of the Wisest Courtiers of the Age, reprimanded him for this Carriage. Nevertheless what ever Grief was shewn at Court, yet was it still much less than that of the *Parliament*, who tho' Commonly sufficiently tenacious, wou'd willingly have given the half of their fortunes to have redeem'd his Life; several Instances did they give of this their Affection, by the Consternation the whole Town was in at this News, and by their Anticipation for his Death: They were not afraid



to say, that after the loss the Kingdom had newly  
 had, it was in great Danger. In effect, the King be-  
 ing of the same Opinion, was very willing to  
 make sure of the Grandees, by conferring New  
 favours on them; he made eight Marshalls of  
 France, tho' there were those of the List that  
 were not in over-great Esteem; the Duke of Gu-  
 yenne was of this Number, that gave Occasion to  
 a jest that pass upon that Subject, for there were  
 those that said, that the Seaven Queens had been  
 made Marshalls of France by the Sword, and  
 that the Scabbard dubb'd *Vyenne*. In the mean  
 while, the King to Honour the Memory of so  
 great a General, wou'd have him Buried at *St.*  
*Denis*, the Place of Burial of the Kings, an Ho-  
 nour, that had been very rarely granted, and which  
 also is not to be hoped for, 'till after having like  
 him perform'd such very important Services.  
 Whereupon he was transferr'd from *San Juli*, where  
 he had been laid up, to *Brie Comte Robert*, a small  
 City, Six Leagues from *Paris*. The *Mignons* went  
 to receive him at the Gates, with the Clergy of  
 the Town, and having laid him in their Church  
 in State, they let him remain there untill  
 the Twenty Ninth of *August*, when he was trans-  
 ferr'd to *St. Denis*: His Guards and his family ac-  
 company'd the Corps, follow'd with a Great Num-  
 ber of Domestiques, whom his Relations had sent  
 to adorn the Funeral Pomp. These sort of Cere-  
 monies, ever sad of themselves, yet never had had  
 any thing so Dolefull as this; every Indivi-  
 dual Wept even to the very Peasants, who flock'd  
 from the Neighbouring Villages, being attracted  
 by the Fame of so great a Man. These tears increas'd  
 when the Body was taken out of the Church,  
 which the Religious came in great numbers to  
 Gate,

Gate, every one having a large Wax Candle in his hand; his Guards carry'd him into the Quire, where a State had been prepar'd for which they laid him. On the morrow he had a Magnificent Service perform'd, but which came nothing near that which was perform'd some days after at *Nostre Dame*, where the Parliament, the Chamber of Accounts, the Court of Aides, the University and the City had notice to be present at his Order under the Signet; the Clergy received also one for the same purpose; and repairing all thither, the Marquis *de Noailles*, Great Master of the Ceremonies, accompanied with his *Sainot*, that performs that Office under him, went to fetch the Relations that were in the Arch-Bishoprick. Fifty Poor People Cloath'd in Grey Cloth, and having *Flambeaux* of White Wax in their hands, attended at the Gate so much before the Mourning; The Four and twenty Tiptiffs with their Robes of Ceremony, on which were fasten'd the Soutcheons of the Deceased's Arms, follow'd them; and after them four Heralds at Arms in their Coats, and holding their Barons in their hands. The Officers of the Ceremonies came after; and these went before the Mourning, at the head of which was the Duke of *Bouillon*, having on a Cloak, whose Train was born up by Gentlemen, as well as that of the other Relations. A Stately Mansoleum was there in the Quire, around which the Herald at Arms being rang'd, the Arch-Bishop of *Paris* began the Service, at the end of which the Bishop of *Lombes* preach'd the Funeral Sermon. This Ceremony having been first proclaim'd by the Heralds at Arms, attended by the Tiptiffs before the Palace where the Deceased dwelt, and in several Publick Places in these Terms.

*Noble and Brave Person, play to God for the Soul of the most Faithful, most Generous, and most Potent Prince, Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, Viscount de Turenne, Marshal of the Kings Camps and Arms, and Colonel General of the Light Horse of France; and having renewed the Words a Second Time, they added, Who was kill'd on the 27th of July last, by a Cannon-shot near Sansbak, as he was going to view the Enemies Army to deliver us Battle, for whose Soul the King Causes Prayers and Services to be perform'd in the Church of Notre-Dame of Paris. This day at Three o'clock in the afternoon, the Psalms and Virgils of the Dead will be Sung, and to Morrow a Solemn Service will be Celebrated at Ten of the Clock in the Morning. Pray for him.*

Thus the King having omitted nothing for the paying to the Memory of this Great man all the Honours due to his Virtue, manifested also much acknowledgment to his Relations. He gave to the Count d'Auvergne the Duke of Bevilson's Brother, the Charge of Colonel General of the Horse, and the Government of Limosin: The others shar'd also in his Bounties and Esteem; and amongst others the Count de Longueval, who was quickly after made Marechal of France, and Captain of the Guards du Corp.

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*The E N D.*

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